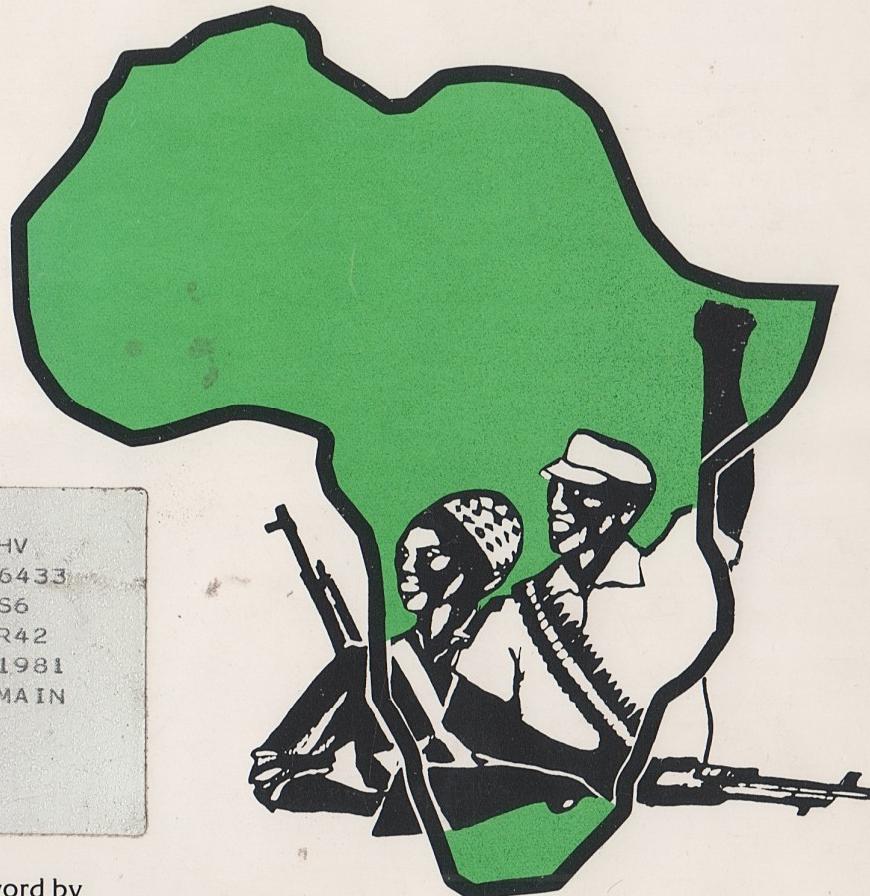


# **RED LOCUSTS**

**Soviet Support for Terrorism  
in Southern Africa**



Foreword by  
**U.S. Senator Jesse Helms**  
**North Carolina**  
Postscript by  
**Ambassador Marion Smoak**

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## CONTENTS

Editorial

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Editorial

African National Congress  
and South African ANC

South Africa

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# RED LOCUSTS

## Soviet Support for Terrorism in South Africa

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an Conference  
United States

New York Conference

Cover Action: WPC Plans Conference in New York

WPC

WPC

Glossary

# Contents

<b>Foreword</b>	
By Senator Jesse Helms .....	1
<b>Introduction</b>	
Strategic Location .....	3
Ethnic History .....	4
.....	6
<b>The African National Congress</b>	
SACP and Soviet Control of ANC .....	7
.....	10
<b>European Support Networks</b>	
.....	16
<b>U.N. Documentation of Soviet Support</b>	
For ANC Terrorism .....	22
"Active Measures" .....	23
Armed Struggle Chronology .....	27
<b>ANC Terrorism Campaign</b>	
.....	29
<b>South African Congress of Trade Unions</b>	
.....	32
<b>South West Africa People's Organization</b>	
.....	35
<b>Washington Conference</b>	
Pro-Soviet Stance .....	39
.....	40
<b>New York Conference</b>	
Soviet Covert Action: WPC Plans Conference in New York .....	44
.....	47
<b>Postscript</b>	
.....	54
<b>Appendix</b>	
.....	55
<b>Glossary</b>	
.....	78

# Foreword

By The Honorable Jesse Helms  
United States Senator, North Carolina

Western public officials and the media have been hesitant if not reluctant to acknowledge the fact of Soviet involvement in terrorism in South Africa and Namibia/Southwest Africa. In the United States, elected officials and government policy makers have generally ignored or even denied the evidence of Soviet involvement in international terrorism in the Americas, the Middle East or Western Europe; but they have been especially reluctant to confront Soviet aggression against the countries of southern Africa.

In 1950, the Communist Party of South Africa was outlawed by the Suppression of Communism Act. But the real work of the Party was always illegal, and it is still operating.

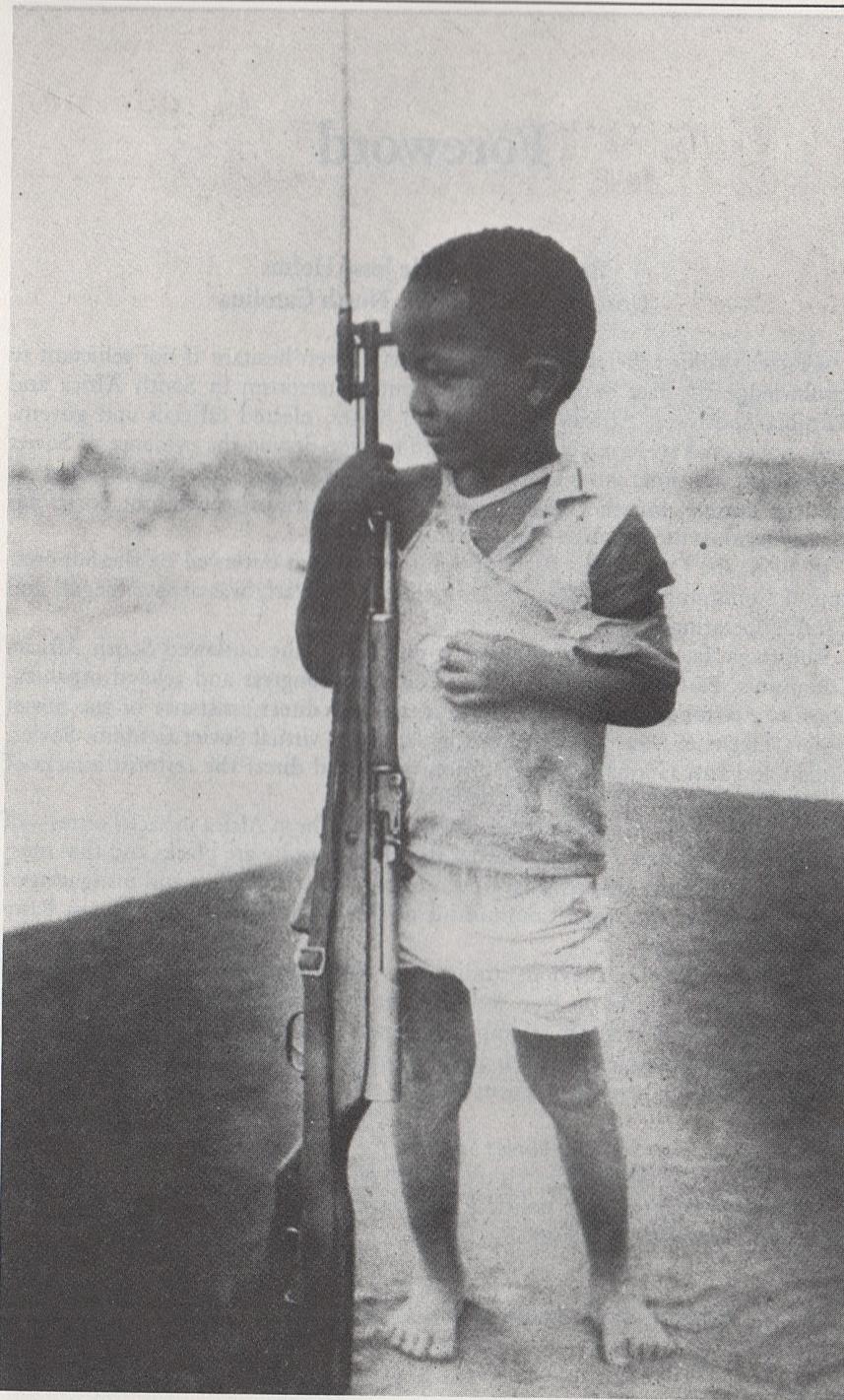
The tragic fact is that for the past twenty years, the outlawed South African Communist Party has led the African National Congress and related organizations in a terrorist campaign with the active and direct assistance of the Soviet Union. Likewise, from bases inside Angola, now a virtual Soviet fiefdom, Soviet, Cuban and East German military officers train and direct the terrorist attacks of the Southwest Africa People's Organization.

The liberal press often paints the struggle in southern Africa in racial terms—of blacks against whites. The truth is that the terrorist cadre are blacks and that most of the *victims* of the terrorists have been blacks, but the leaders and instigators of the terrorism are the white Communists of the South African Communist Party and the Soviet Union.

Like Western Goals' previous studies, this report details and documents Communist-directed attacks on Free World societies. In this instance, the attacks are against Namibia, a territory attempting to gain its independence and establish a representative parliamentary form of government; and South Africa, an American and Free World ally whose security is vital to our economic and political independence.

This report, *Red Locusts: Soviet Support for Terrorism in Southern Africa*, will be a valuable and useful research tool for all who wish to assist in the endeavor to rebuild and strengthen the political, economic and social structure of the United States and Western Civilization.

Senator Jesse Helms (R-N.C.) is a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.



"Forward to Peoples Power in a Liberated South Africa...Power to the People."

## Introduction

*Terrorism: A violent attack on a noncombatant segment of the community for the purpose of intimidation to achieve a political or military objective.*

Although all governments and people, including terrorists, claim to be opposed to terrorism, those who find terrorism a useful and expedient tactic for covertly waging war against their neighbors attempt to disguise terrorism as "guerrilla warfare" or "insurgency" or as a "national liberation movement." But this definition of terrorism, which was first offered by Congressman Lawrence McDonald (D-Georgia) in 1976 and is now generally accepted by counter-terrorist experts in the United States and Western Europe, draws a clear line between the legitimate tactic of guerrilla warfare and the unacceptable tactic of terrorism. Any group which attacks civilians is terrorist whether or not it also attacks military targets. This definition pierces the semantic cloud in which the Soviet Union, its satellites and surrogates cloak their support of terrorism.

*Past United States administrations...have focused on an illusory policy of "detente"...*

Past United States administrations have declined to make a public issue of terrorism and of Soviet support for terrorism. Instead they have focused on an illusory policy of "detente" with the USSR. This has given the Soviet leadership a 12-year period in which to build international networks of terrorist organizations and support groups and to aggressively advance their interests in Africa. However, President Reagan and Secretary of State Haig have been more forthright in condemning terrorism and Soviet aid to terrorist movements than the Soviets euphemistically term "national liberation movements." It is the strongly anti-terrorist position of the present administration that makes disturbing the fact that high-level representatives of two terrorist organizations, the African National Congress (ANC) and the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), received visas which allowed them to enter the United States to travel without any restriction.

In response to an inquiry by Rep. McDonald as to why ANC and SWAPO leaders were granted visas, the State Department replied in a letter dated June 29, 1981, that the issuance of a visa to ANC president Oliver Tambo was an "unfortunate procedural error" that "has already been looked into and appropriate steps are being taken to see to it that such errors do not recur." Rep. McDonald

said that he received no explanation of State Department visa policy toward SWAPO.

The purpose of these terrorists' visit was to make direct contact with the Communist and "New Left" revolutionary support groups, activist religious groups, certain trade unionists and some local public officials in order to organize political pressure on the Reagan Administration to make it reverse its policies of moderation toward the legitimate governments of South West Africa and South Africa. These policies of moderation, in contrast to the clear hostility of Carter Administration policies, greatly interfere with the Soviet Union's expansionist and imperialistic strategies in Africa.

Before outlining the proceedings of two key conferences organized in support of these terrorist groups and their support movements operating in the United States, it is necessary and essential for those in the United States and Western European countries in which the ANC and SWAPO support groups are active to recognize the objectives of ANC and SWAPO, and of those who support them.

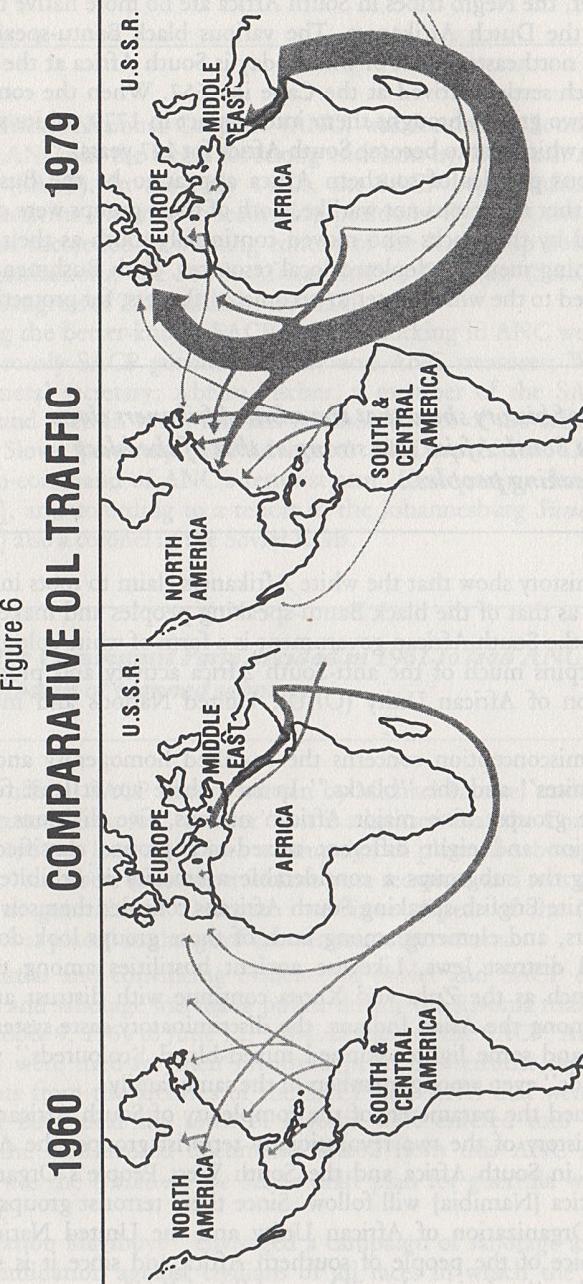
### Strategic Location

South Africa is located at the southernmost tip of Africa astride the shipping lanes from the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean into the Atlantic. From this strategic point, military forces based in South Africa would control the flow of shipping around the Cape of Good Hope. Because most of the oil imported by Western Europe, the United States and the industrialized nations of Latin America is carried in tankers on the Cape route, it is obviously very important that the government of this country be friendly toward the United States and have no interest in seeing the Free World's oil supply cut off.

*The West's dependency on Middle East oil shipped via the Cape route to Western Europe, South and North America alone is sufficient to make the capture of South Africa and South West Africa [Namibia] become a primary Soviet goal.*

Added to the geographically strategic position of southern Africa is the fact that numerous important, strategic mineral resources in the region are vital to the industrial and military strength of the United States and other Western nations. Together, these considerations have transformed general Soviet interest in southern Africa dating back 50 years into intense activity. In part, this activity has taken the form of support for the terrorist groups ANC and SWAPO as the spearheads for the destabilization of South Africa and Namibia.

The objective unquestionably is the overthrow of the present governments and the installation of pro-Soviet regimes to be controlled by the Marxist-Leninist ANC in South Africa and SWAPO in South West Africa/Namibia.



## Ethnic History

At this point, a couple of misconceptions need to be clarified. First, contrary to popular belief, the Negro tribes in South Africa are no more native to that part of Africa than the Dutch Afrikaners. The various black Bantu-speaking tribes migrated to the northeastern part of what today is South Africa at the same time as the first Dutch settlers arrived at the Cape in 1652. When the continued expansion of the two groups brought them into contact in 1779, white settlers had been in the area which was to become South Africa for 127 years.

The indigenous peoples of southern Africa appear to be the Bushmen and Hottentots. Neither numerous nor warlike, both of these groups were driven back easily and killed by the blacks who moved continually south as their herds and subsistence farming methods depleted local resources. Both Bushmen and many Hottentots turned to the whites, later to become Afrikaners, for protection.

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*The facts of history show that the white Afrikaners claim to roots in South Africa is as strong as that of the black Bantu-speaking peoples...*

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The facts of history show that the white Afrikaners claim to roots in South Africa is as strong as that of the black Bantu-speaking peoples and makes nonsense of the idea that the South African government is a form of white colonial rule, an idea that underpins much of the anti-South Africa activity and propaganda in the Organization of African Unity (OAU), United Nations and international Soviet fronts.

The second misconception concerns the so-called homogeneity and harmony among the "whites" and the "blacks." In fact, there are at least five distinct "white" ethnic groups, nine major African nations, five divisions within the Indian population and eight different mixed-race groups classified as "coloured." Among the subgroups a considerable animosity is exhibited. For example, some white English-speaking South Africans consider themselves superior to the Afrikaners, and elements among both of those groups look down on the Portuguese and distrust Jews. Likewise ancient hostilities among the various black nations such as the Zulu and Xhosa continue with distrust and mutual antagonism. Among the Asian Indians, the discriminatory caste system of India is maintained; and some lighter-skinned mixed-blood "coloureds" will ignore darker "coloureds" even among members of the same family.

Having outlined the parameters of the complexity of South African society, a review of the history of the two revolutionary terrorist groups, the African National Congress in South Africa and the South West People's Organization in South West Africa [Namibia] will follow. Since these terrorist groups are recognized by the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations as the "authentic" voice of the people of southern Africa and since it is supposedly through them that "majority rule will be established," it is necessary to examine their goals and the methods they use to attain the "new order."

## The African National Congress

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The African National Congress (ANC) was formed in South Africa in 1912. Initially, ANC was the target for strong criticisms by the South African Communist Party (SACP). In the early 1940s, the SACP began infiltrating ANC with younger activists who rose to leadership positions. By 1947, the white-dominated SACP had succeeded in winning control of the leadership both of ANC and of sister organizations, the South African Indian Congress (SAIC) and the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU).

Among the better-known SACP activists working in ANC were Moses Kotane, simultaneously SACP general-secretary and ANC treasurer; Walter Sisulu, the ANC general secretary; Abram Fischer, a member of the SACP underground arrested and tried in 1966; Michael Harmel, author of the official SACP history; and Joe Slovo, presently chief advisor to ANC's president Oliver Tambo, the second-in-command of ANC's terrorist arm, *Umkonto we Sizwe* ("Spear of the Nation"), and according to a report in the Johannesburg *Sunday Times* [March 15, 1981] also a colonel in the Soviet KGB.

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*...the Communist Party decided in 1961 to lead ANC into a campaign of planned sabotage.*

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In the official SACP history written by Michael Harmel under the pseudonym of A. Lerumo [Zulu for "teacher"], it is admitted that the Communist Party decided in 1961 to lead ANC into a campaign of planned sabotage. As Harmel recounted, "numbers of young militants were recruited and sent abroad for combat training as guerrillas of Umkonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation)." Nelson Mandela was placed in charge of this terrorist organization.

Substantial and convincing evidence of Soviet and SACP direction of ANC terrorism and sabotage was made public during the Rivonia trial which took place from October 9, 1963 to June 12, 1964. Leaders of the SACP, ANC and *Umkonto we Sizwe* were tried for their involvement in the terrorist campaign and many documents from the archives of the SACP and ANC that were captured at the Lilliesleaf farm near the town of Rivonia were entered into the court record. Among the confidential documents seized from this ANC and SACP headquarters was the *Umkonto we Sizwe* draft plan for guerrilla warfare: Operation Mayibuye.

"Operation Mayibuye" envisaged a campaign of sabotage and organized terrorist intimidation against civilians of all races in which the models were the Chinese and Cuban Communist revolutions. The plan called for formation and deployment of scores of trained terrorist units in the countryside as well as urban

terrorism in the cities; establishment of a "provisional revolutionary government;" and, eventually, an armed invasion by various foreign powers.

Nelson Mandela, an ANC leader who had been appointed as the first chairman of ANC's *Umkonto* terrorists, but who was not a Communist Party member, was arrested in August 1962, and brought to trial in Rivonia along with six other leaders of ANC, SACP and *Umkonto we Sizwe*.

The quarterly journal of the South African Communist Party, *The African Communist*, for the third quarter of 1964, carried a long account of the Rivonia trial. The official SACP journal confirmed that "the police found many confidential documents, including 'Operation Mayibuye,' the *Umkonto we Sizwe* draft plan for guerrilla warfare." One of the farm tenants, a member of the SACP, was arrested. *The African Communist* continued its article by confirming that he had "documents in his handwriting indicating that he had been sent abroad on a mission to find whether arms could be obtained for the *Umkonto* soldiers."

Evidence developed in the Rivonia trial showed that the SACP and ANC terrorists had developed contacts with the USSR, German Democratic Republic, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, the People's Republic of China and Cuba in addition to the pro-Soviet and pro-Peking states in Africa, to whom they looked for training in sabotage and terrorism, arms, political and tactical advice and financial backing. [Rivonia: Operation Mayibuye, Justice H.H.W. de Villiers, APB, Johannesburg, 1964; see Chapter VIII.]

One of the principal rallying points for ANC, the international network of Soviet fronts, and ANC's support groups is the campaign for the release of Nelson Mandela from prison where he is serving a life sentence. Mandela, asserted the *New York Times* recently, would most probably become the first black prime minister in the "new order" of South Africa. Some light on what "majority rule" led by Mandela would mean is shed by his testimony at his trial. As reported by *The African Communist*:

"Among the documents discovered at Rivonia were manuscripts in the handwriting of Nelson Mandela, who had found refuge at the farm at one stage of his underground leadership.

\* \* \*

"The leaders in the dock...disdained to repudiate...or to deny the part that some of them had played in *Umkonto*...I admit immediately,' said Mandela, 'that I was one of the persons who helped to form *Umkonto We Sizwe*, and that I played a prominent role in its affairs until I was arrested in August 1962.'

\* \* \*

"I do not deny that I planned sabotage," said Mandela, 'I did not plan it in a spirit of recklessness, nor because I have any love of violence. I planned it as a result of a calm and sober assessment of the political situation that had arisen...."

Mandela was taking pains to demonstrate to other revolutionaries that he and ANC held the "correct" Marxist-Leninist position on terrorist "armed struggle;" namely that violence should be utilized not in a spirit of reckless "adventurism," but only after a cold-blooded political assessment of its political consequences

and a determination by the party leadership as to the probability it will advance their goals.

One of the Communist leaders of the ANC terrorist campaign was Abram "Bram" Fischer, a white SACP member of a prominent Afrikaner family. During his trial in 1966, he admitted that the leaders of the terrorist movement had given assurances to the Communist Party that no action would be taken without prior consultation with the party. Fischer said that "the Congresses and the Communist Party did not wish to have their membership held liable for every act of sabotage."



"Bram" Fischer, SACP member who led ANC's terrorist group, *Umkonto we Sizwe*

By this Fischer meant that once an overall strategy, such as planting bombs in public places, was agreed, ANC's terrorist did not have to ask whether the Communist Party would prefer that a particular bomb be planted in a train station as opposed to a department store or post office.

### SACP and Soviet Control of ANC

Following the failure of Operation Mayibuye, the SACP and ANC altered their strategy, setting up ANC's headquarters in Tanzania and attempting to camouflage and deny its blatant Communist control.

That control, both via the SACP and from Moscow, remains and brought about a crisis within ANC during 1975, when a group of ANC's younger "black nationalist" leaders charged that white, Asian [Indian] and "colored" Communist Party members had "hijacked" the leadership of ANC and were in control of the ANC treasury which was funded primarily by the Soviet Union and other Eastern European Warsaw Pact countries.

The rebellion failed, and eight ANC leaders including Ambrose Makiwane, former commander of ANC's terrorist "military forces," and Joe Matlou, the ANC representative to Ghana, were expelled. [See, *The (Johannesburg) Sunday Times*, July 27, 1975; and *The Rand Daily Mail*, October 8, 1975] The SACP strongly denied the charges that it controlled ANC in the August 1976 issue of its monthly magazine, *Inkululeko* [Zulu for "freedom"].

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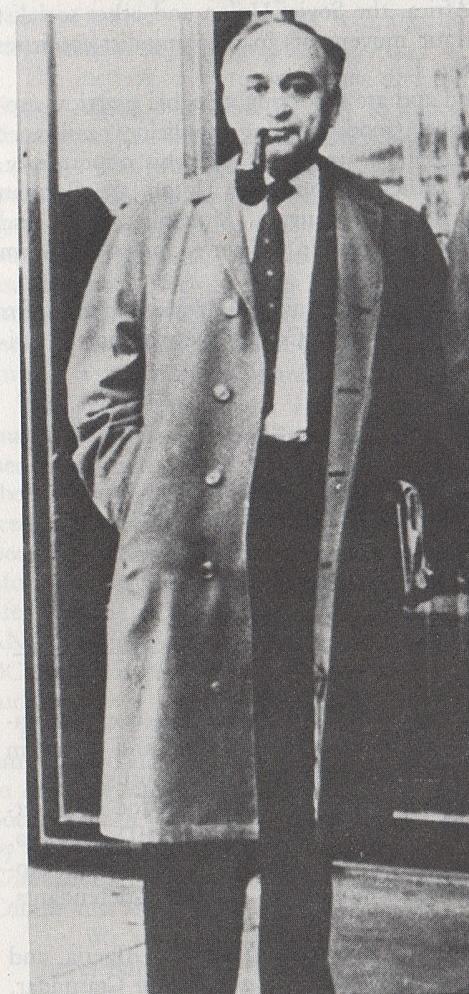
It is common for international terrorist organizations (and for the espionage agencies of the Soviet bloc countries) to attempt to deter potential defectors by killing those who do defect. One of the eight ANC "expelled renegades," T.X. "Tennyson" Makiwane, subsequently joined the staff of the Foreign Ministry of the Transkei, a territory ruled by Xhosas that was granted independence by South Africa in 1976. Makiwane was assassinated on July 6, 1980, by an unknown assassin who used a Soviet-made Makarov automatic pistol, a weapon also produced in Czechoslovakia and favored also by Italian and West German terrorists.

No changes in the ANC leadership resulted from the 1975 "rebellion." Yussuf Dadoo, chairman of the SACP, remains a member of the ANC executive and serves as ANC's direct liaison with the Soviet hierarchy. And Lithuania-born Joe Slovo, 55, formerly an attorney in Johannesburg and a member of the SACP Central Committee, is the second-in-command of ANC's terrorist arm. Slovo fled from South Africa in the late 1950s to avoid arrest and has operated since that time from London, East Berlin and, more recently, from Maputo, Mozambique, ANC's current headquarters.

A frequent contributor under his own name and under a series of Zulu aliases to *The African Communist*, he produced an article published in 1978 in support of the applicability of "protracted armed struggle" to revolution in southern

Africa. According to the Johannesburg *Sunday Times* [March 3, 1981], Slovo holds the rank of colonel in the Soviet KGB.

Despite the concerns of the African National Congress, SACTU, SAIC and South African Communist Party to conceal the fact that their activities are directed by the Soviet Union, the "concealment" remains a transparently thin veneer. Evidence from the archives of the SACP and ANC entered as exhibits in the Rivonia trial demonstrated Moscow's concern that its involvement be kept secret. One document, Exhibit R2, contained a warning that the involvement of the Soviet Union in ANC and its Umkonto terrorists should not become public knowledge because of international repercussions.



Comrade Yusuf Dadoo,  
SACP Chairman.

In fact, the consistent and routine attendance of SACP and ANC leaders at meetings and party conferences in the Soviet Union, Warsaw Pact countries, Cuba and the Soviet Union's new African satrapies is regularly reported not only in the Communist press, but in ANC's publication *Sechaba*, in SACP's *The African Communist* and *Inkululeko* and in *Jana Shakti*, the publication of the Indian Congress.

Furthermore, a book published in Moscow in 1970 reprinted a speech by J.B. Marks, then chairman of the SACP and a leading ANC member, to the 1969 International Conference of Communist and Workers Parties. In part, Marks said:

"At the same time, we are deeply conscious and appreciative of the powerful support for our people's struggle from innumerable friends of freedom throughout the world...."

"The independent states of Africa, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the labor and democratic movements in the capitalist countries have repeatedly denounced apartheid...."

"Above all, they have rendered and are rendering valuable practical support to our freedom fighters: money, food, clothing, medicines, assistance to military training and, most precious, arms. We take this opportunity, comrades, in the presence of the leaders of the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic, Bulgaria, Poland, Hungary, Mongolia, Cuba and other socialist countries, to say that our people will never forget the warm comradely solidarity they have shown."

J.B. Marks speech was published in a volume entitled *African Communists Speak* published by the Nauka Publishing House, Central Department of Oriental Literature, Moscow, 1970.

*During the 1970s, trials of ANC terrorists have produced evidence confirming a continuing program of training ANC cadre in sabotage and terrorism tactics at camps in the Soviet Union itself as well as in other Communist states.*

During the 1970s, trials of ANC terrorists have produced evidence confirming a continuing program of training ANC cadre in sabotage and terrorism tactics at camps in the Soviet Union itself as well as in other Communist states.

Some of the most convincing evidence of direct Soviet support for ANC terrorism early in the 1970s was provided in the *Moumbaris trial* [Docket No. 1/4/3/6/730/72] in the Supreme Court of South Africa. The evidence was provided by three ANC defectors, accomplices of Moumbaris and his co-defendants, who testified for the prosecution.

*Camps 1968-1972*  
After being recruited into ANC, they were sent to Tanzania and Algeria, and then on to the Soviet Union where they were trained in camps near Crasnodar, Moscow, Baku and Sironya over a period from 1964 through 1972.

Their training courses in the Soviet Union were interspersed with periods in ANC camps and bases in Somalia and Tanzania.

*Approval of terrorism—attacks against South African civilians—has been consistent in the publications of the SACP and ANC.*

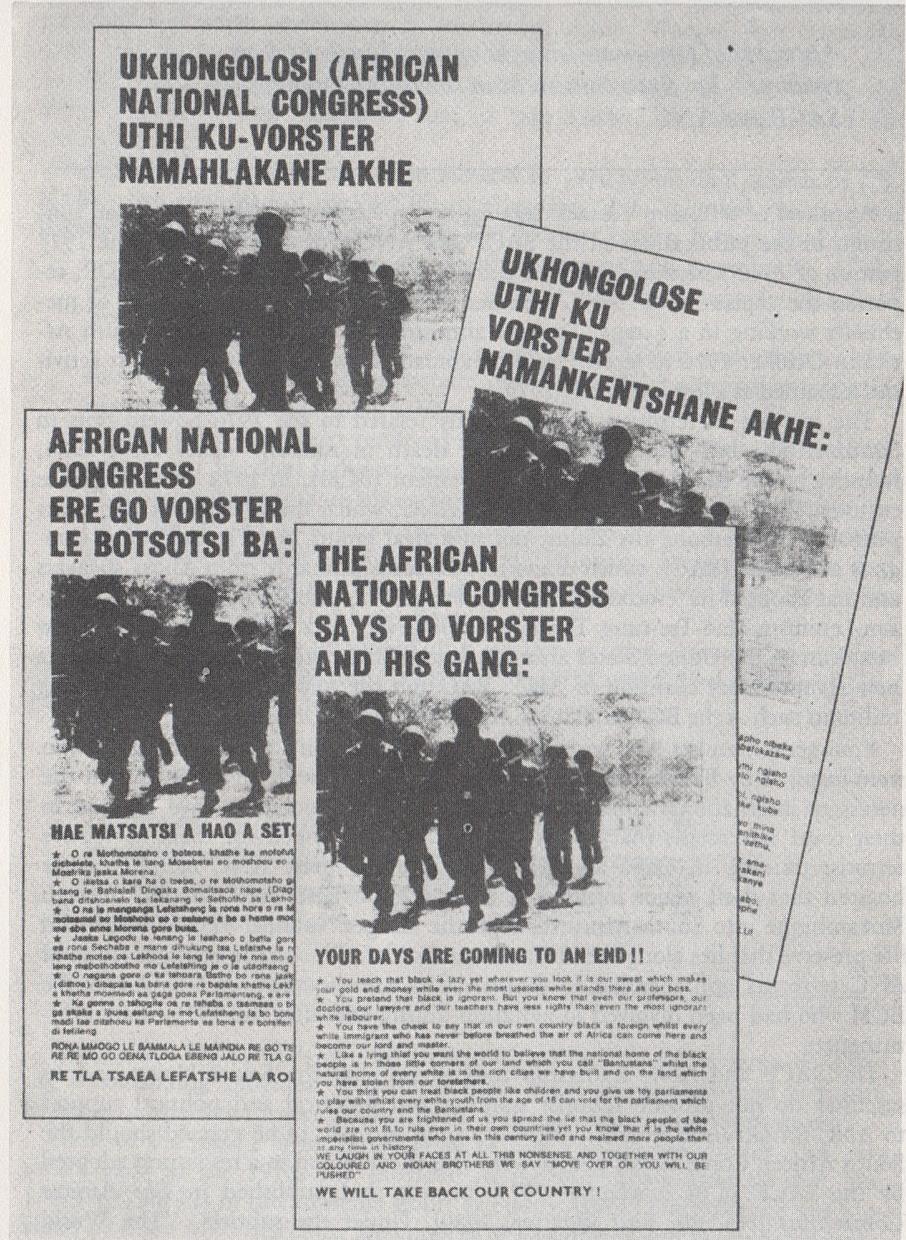
Approval of terrorism—attacks against South African civilians—has been consistent in the publications of the SACP and ANC. For example, the June 1977 edition of ANC's *Sechaba*, which is printed as a service to ANC by the GDR, reported the capture of an ANC member after he shot to death a group of mechanics working in a garage. *Sechaba* admitted the terrorist had left South Africa in October 1976 to receive training abroad. However, ANC's terrorist activities remained at a low level until 1979.

The increase in terrorism is not directly related to the 1976 Soweto riots in South Africa, but more directly to the death of militant leader Steve Biko, founder of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM), in 1978 while in police custody. Biko was neither a member of ANC, which draws its black adherents primarily from among the Zulus, nor of a rival group, the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC), which draws its adherents primarily from Xhosa-speakers and has adopted its "socialism" via the Peoples' Republic of China and "Marxism-Leninism-Mao-Tse-tung Thought." However, in a tape recorded interview broadcast in the United States after his death, Biko stated his aim was to forge a new revolutionary coalition of ANC, PAC and the new organizations of young militants such as the BCM and South African Students Organization (SASO).

Younger extremists who wished to receive training in "armed struggle" who were inspired by Biko's death perforce had to link up with ANC which had the necessary international connections. Captured ANC members have boasted in their court statements that the ANC and SACP arranged for them to receive terrorist training in Cuba and Tanzania. Indeed, these ANC members have boasted that their major infiltration route is from bases in Tanzania, through Mozambique into South Africa through the Kruger National Park, a large wild life preserve that lies along the Mozambican border. Among the younger group of ANC terrorists apprehended in South Africa are members of SASO and the BCM who had been involved in agitation during and after the 1976 Soweto disturbances.

The SACP and ANC leadership understand that the Soviet Union and its satellites do not provide terrorist training and logistical and political support to ANC for altruistic reasons. There is a *quid pro quo* to be exacted should the South African Communists take power. This is evidenced in a resolution adopted by the SACP at its November 1979 meeting and published in *The African Communist* [No. 80, First Quarter, 1980]. Under the subtitle, "The World Communist Movement," the SACP stated:

"We who are part of the liberation movement of South Africa must never fail to appreciate and insist that solidarity is a two-way process, that the aid and support which the socialist countries give so generously, and at the expense of their own material gains, to freedom fighters everywhere, can only be reciprocated by unswerving identification with the socialist community in the common struggle against capitalism and imperialism."



ANC underground literature.

The African National Congress president, Oliver Tambo, a long-time member of the presidium of the World Peace Council (WPC), the major Soviet-controlled international Communist front, demonstrated a similar understanding of what Communists term the "principles of socialist internationalism" while visiting East Berlin in October 1980, as head of one of 116 delegations to a 1980 International Conference on Scientific Socialism, a follow-on to the series of Communist and Workers Parties conferences held *regularly* under the auspices of the publication *Problems of Peace and Socialism (World Marxist Review)*.

Following Tambo's meeting with the GDR's head of state and Communist Party chief Erich Honecker, ADN, the official East German news agency, reported Tambo had "thanked Mr. Honecker for the aid which East Germany and other socialist republics were giving the ANC." Honecker replied that the GDR "is and will remain a firm partner" of the South African people in their fight, and would continue "to back strongly all peoples fighting for national and social liberation." [Quoted in the *Agence France Presse* news bulletin, *Africa*, No. 2735, October 24, 1980, p. 26.]

In an article for ANC's *Sechaba* [January 1981], Tambo reported on the results of the East Berlin conference and expressed his full support for its purpose, strengthening "unity of the three revolutionary elements of the revolutionary world process" [identified as the existing "socialist" (i.e., Communist) states, the "international working class movement" (meaning the Communist parties and allied groups), and the "national liberation movements."]

Unity of the three "revolutionary elements" was seen as a "vital precondition for the final victory over all forces of imperialism, colonialism, racism, zionism and exploitation of man by man."



ANC President Oliver Tambo

## European Support Networks

In 1975, South African authorities arrested a young "self-exiled" South African intellectual, Breyten Breytenbach, who had returned using a false passport. Breytenbach confessed he had been recruited into a network variously called *Solidarite* and "Aid and Friendship" that not only engaged in agitational activities in support of revolutionary terrorists throughout Western Europe and the Middle East, but also in utilizing amateur revolutionaries to provide safe houses, funds, false papers and courier services for a wide range of Soviet and Cuban supported revolutionary terrorist movements.

In the words of two British journalists who examined the Curiel network's links to international terrorist organizations, *Solidarite* appeared to "hover on the blurred dividing line between left-wing politics, support for the Third World, and espionage and terrorism." [The *Carlos Complex: A Study in Terror*, Christopher Dobson and Ronald Payne, New York, 1977; See, Chapter 7.]

The founder and leader of *Solidarite* was Henri Curiel, an Egyptian-born Jew who was the first cousin of George Blake, a senior officer in Britain's Secret Intelligence Service unmasked in 1961 as a KGB spy. [Sentenced to 42 years imprisonment, Blake escaped after serving five years and fled to Moscow.] Curiel was a founder of the Egyptian Communist Party and organizer of an Egyptian political party, the *Mouvement Egyptien de Liberation Nationale* in which Curiel demonstrated his ability to forge Trotskyists and other leftists into a working coalition with Communists, although at that time he called himself an "unconditional Stalinist." In August 1950, Curiel was deported to Italy by Nasser. Moving on to Paris, Curiel organized a support group for the Algerian terrorist FLN. He was arrested in 1960, and was sentenced to prison, but received an amnesty after two years. When he got out of jail, Curiel organized *Solidarite*.

*Investigations uncovered...links to...the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), the West German Rote Armee Fraktion [Baader-Meinhof Gang], and Japanese Red Army led by the Soviet-trained Venezuelan terrorist Ilich Ramirez Sanchez, also known as "Carlos the Jackal."*

Investigations uncovered Curiel *Solidarite* links to the international terrorist

ring of Palestinian Marxists from the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), the West German *Rote Armee Fraktion* [Baader-Meinhof Gang], and Japanese Red Army led by the Soviet-trained Venezuelan terrorist Ilich Ramirez Sanchez, also known as "Carlos the Jackal." Curiel was placed under house arrest at Digne in southern France but was released in January 1978.

The first public exposure of the Curiel network appeared in the Paris weekly, *Le Point* [June 21, 1976], in an article by George Souffert entitled "The Boss of the Terrorist Support Networks." The magazine provided the following description of the financing of Curiel's current movement:

"Behind the movement, there is a corporation Societe d'Echanges et de Representation, at number two Rue de Colonel Driant, Paris....this is an import-export firm which has an account at the Banque Commerciale pour l'Europe du Nord (a branch of the USSR State Bank)...all of the officials of this firm are personal friends of Curiel. Its founder, Raymond Biriotti, and its Commercial Director Bernard Rigeut, both belong to the Communist Party and to the Direction Committee of Solidarite. Thus we are in the atmosphere of the Communist Universe."

The article reported that the "highest level of the French [intelligence] services...believe that Curiel is in constant contact with the KGB."

As Herbert Romerstein, a Professional Staff Member of the House of Representatives' Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence and one of the leading United States experts on terrorism, wrote in his monograph, *Soviet Support for International Terrorism* [The Foundation for Democratic Education, Washington, D.C., 1981]:

"The Banque Commerciale pour l'Europe du Nord is owned by two Soviet banks, the Soviet State Bank and the Soviet Bank for Foreign Trade, which hold 99 percent of the shares of the Paris bank. The Director of the bank is Guy de Boysson, an official of the French Communist Party. His vice-director is Vladimir Ponomarev, a Soviet official and the cousin of Boris Ponomarev, the Soviet Politburo member in charge of relations with foreign Communist Parties. A major function of the Bank is to launder Soviet funds for Western Communist Parties and Front Organizations. The use of this bank by the Curiel Apparat facilitates the transfer of Soviet money to terrorist groups with little fear of detection."

Two assailants shot Curiel to death as he entered the elevator of his apartment building in Paris on May 4, 1978. His networks, apparently broken down into regional "interest areas," continue to operate.

The organization set up by Breytenbach within the *Solidarite* network was the Amsterdam-based group called *Okhela*, the Zulu word for "spark." "Spark"—in Russian "*iskra*"—of course was the name of the Russian revolutionary newspaper which numbered V.I. Lenin among its editors.

The Amsterdam-based *Okhela* group was designed to harness the energies of white revolutionaries—particularly Europeans and South African students and intellectuals in Europe. But it proved to be as unreliable as Breytenbach, who greatly damaged *Okhela*'s prestige in courtroom statements attacking his comrades-in-exile and in his confession which drew the attention of the Western European intelligence services to Curiel and his *Solidarite* networks.

During 1976 and 1977, *Okhela* attempted to regain credibility with the revolutionary left by benefiting from industrial espionage against West German



An East German poster distributed in South Africa. Note the "Black Studies" book.

companies cooperating in nuclear power technology with South Africa, European industries violating the U.N. ban on Rhodesian chrome, and oil companies getting around U.N. sanctions and selling oil to Rhodesia. The collection of stolen documents on oil sanctions violations was published under the title "The Oil Conspiracy" in England by the Haslemere group and reportedly "helped to generate the political pressure that led to the setting-up of the Bingham commission of inquiry in Britain." [Foreign Report, publication of *The Economist* (London), #1563 6 December 1978, p. 3.]

However, during 1978, the Amsterdam *Okhela* group, including one of its leaders, Berend Schuitema, supported the "nationalist" faction in ANC's internal struggles. A series of discussion papers produced in Amsterdam in October 1978 had telling criticisms of the SACP control over ANC's entire operations in exile. An *Okhela* internal discussion paper dated October 19, 1978, whined that "since the very beginning, the politics of the liberation movement in exile has been under the domination of the South African Communist Party." As a result of SACP control, only two issues have "formed the backbone of the anti-apartheid politics: the disinvestment issue and the armed struggle."

The *Okhela* dissent documents charged that the SACP and the Soviets deliberately were limiting the number of blacks and whites allowed to receive "military" training because their plan was to impose a subservient Czechoslovakia-type coup from the outside. *Okhela* charged that the USSR did not want to see an "independent" Communist state arise from a "popular struggle" in the style of Yugoslavia.

In another internal discussion paper, dated October 21, 1978, *Okhela* attacked the London-based International Defense and Aid Fund, an important source of funding for ANC which regularly has received substantial grants from the World Council of Churches (WCC), National Council of Churches (NCC) and individual religious denominations in the United States, as "an inconsistent jelly-fish" that "appears to be Christian-motivated," but accepts a program "run along highly sectarian lines" and is "controlled by members of the South African Communist Party."

The *Okhela* documents revealed that the group in 1978 was planning to engage in acts of sabotage and terrorism against U.S. and South African targets in Europe patterned after the *Rote Armee Fraktion* (RAF) [Baader-Meinhof Gang]. The October 19, 1978, discussion paper said "a new type of action" was required, "direct action similar to that which initiated the RAF in Germany." Recalling the arrest of Breytenbach three years earlier, the paper commented, "At that time we were also thinking of direct action abroad against legitimate enemy targets like embassies and airline installations and equipment."

The *Okhela* papers revealed that the white revolutionaries were prepared to engage in international terrorism in support of ANC's "nationalist" faction. Said one of the discussion papers, "The adventures which resulted in the Breytenbach capture are mild by comparison with what we are now embarking upon.... We are to extend the rejection of the legality of the apartheid-colonial state to the entire world."

*To gain support for the international terrorism campaign, Okhela proposed gaining support from the Palestine Liberation Organization and Irish Republican Army by setting up legal overt support fronts in South Africa for the IRA and PLO—the South African Palestine Committee (SAPC) and the Southern Africa Ireland Committee (SAIC)...*

To gain support for the international terrorism campaign, *Okhela* proposed gaining support from the Palestine Liberation Organization and Irish Republican Army by setting up legal overt support fronts in South Africa for the IRA and PLO—the South African Palestine Committee (SAPC) and the Southern Africa Ireland Committee (SAIC)—which were formed in 1978, in the words of *Okhela*, “in the style of fully exploiting the repressive tolerance of the state in order to create conditions for deeper-level activities.”

In other words, the overt front groups would develop support among South African students and others for the IRA and PLO revolutionaries as a "cover" for recruiting some individuals to "deeper-level activities" of terrorism and espionage. The clandestine activities were to be carried out by a secret group, the "John Harris Kommando."

This dual level structure—the use of legal support groups for one set of revolutionary terrorists as a means of recruiting individuals to another clandestine revolutionary terrorist group and to secret networks that provide direct logistical aid—“safe houses, false documents, vehicles, courier services and the like—exactly parallels the situation in the United States in which the Weather Underground Organization (WUO) continues to operate fronts in support of the Puerto Rican FALN [*Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion Nacional*] as well as both ANC and SWAPO.

One of the *Okhela* internal discussion papers, a four-page document entitled "The Organization of the John Harris Kommando," [John "Imari" Harris is a radical black American serving a life sentence for murder who has been adopted as "prisoner of conscience" by Amnesty International. Harris's release has been supported by the Soviet media, the World Peace Council, and such Communist Party, U.S.A. fronts as the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression], dated from London, October 2, 1978, discussing the activities of the SAIC, said:

"The practical engagement of the cells in revolutionary activity involves active support for the needs of the Republican movement. This is very much along the lines on which *Solidarite* was organized, i.e., support outside formal structures in the form of safe houses, passage, logistic support, etc. for the combatant activities of the liberation movement."

[Quoted in *Foreign Report*,  
#1563, 6 December 1978]

The SACP and ANC regulars were able to isolate and control the *Okhela* group by expelling and discrediting the ANC dissidents. They were able to do this by reason of their own contacts with the PLO, IRA and other terrorist organizations which receive direct support from the Soviet Union and its satellites; and also, logically, by reason of the influence of the Soviet KGB and GRU officers and agents that carry out liaison with those terrorist organizations.

As evidence of direct Soviet involvement in terrorism, one should consider that the Palestine Liberation Organization's cadres, like those of ANC, receive terrorist training at camps inside the Soviet Union. In February 1981, Muhammed ash-Sha'ir, the PLO's representative in Moscow, in a statement distributed by the PLO's officials news agency WAFA, boasted to the press that hundreds of PLO "officers" have graduated from Soviet military academies and that 2,000 Palestinian "students" were currently receiving training in the USSR." IRA cadre

have received terrorist training at the hands of Cuban, Soviet and other instructors in Libya; and a major arms shipment from an agency of the Czechoslovak government being smuggled to the IRA was intercepted in the Netherlands in 1973.

Czech arms to left 973

## U.N. Documentation of Soviet Support for ANC Terrorism

A major international campaign in support of the African National Congress and South West Africa People's Organization designed to counteract the Reagan Administration's policies of moderation toward South Africa and Namibia was launched, with the full participation both of the USSR and bloc diplomats and the major international Communist fronts led by the World Peace Council at the "International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa." The conference was organized by the United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid (SCAA) [in accordance with General Assembly resolutions 34/93C of 12 December 1979 and 35/2061 of 16 December 1980] in cooperation with the Organization of African Unity (OAU).

In turn, the Special Committee Against Apartheid set up a Preparatory Committee for the Sanctions Conference consisting of its own officers, representatives of the OAU and UNESCO, and "the national liberation movements of South Africa (African National Congress of South Africa and Pan Africanist Congress of Azania) and Namibia (South West Africa People's Organization)." Also involved in the work of the Preparatory Committee was the WPC. The WPC representative to the March 1981 Preparatory Committee meeting held under the auspices of the SCAA, Communist Party, U.S.A. activist Karen Talbot, stated:

"The WPC is resolutely committed to help make the Sanctions Conference a turning point in the struggle against apartheid. Be assured of our utmost cooperation.

"We are confident that the Paris Sanctions Conference will qualitatively advance international solidarity with the liberation struggles in South Africa and Namibia to end the hated apartheid regime. It will do so by hastening the day when comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa are imposed and implemented."

*[International Mobilization Against Apartheid and for the Liberation of Southern Africa, "published by the World Peace Council in cooperation with the United Nations Centre against Apartheid," Vol. II, No. 2, May 1981, p. 1]*

*The Paris conference produced evidence of massive Soviet-bloc support for the ANC and SWAPO terrorist organizations...*

The Paris conference produced evidence of massive Soviet-bloc support for the ANC and SWAPO terrorist organizations including official documents published by the U.N. General Assembly in which Soviet diplomats confirmed their "active measures" in support of ANC and SWAPO and a U.N. document providing a chronology of ANC's "armed struggle" since 1976. This chronology demonstrated incontrovertibly that ANC is a terrorist organization, not a legitimate guerrilla force.

The statements from the Soviet bloc's diplomatic representations were prepared at the request of the chairman of the U.N. Special Committee Against Apartheid, B. Akporode Clark of Nigeria, who also was chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the Paris Sanctions Conference. Mr. Clark asked the U.N. member states to submit statements on what their governments were doing to implement U.N. resolutions against South Africa for inclusion in an "essential document" for the Sanctions Conference.

U.N. General Assembly document A/CONF.107/5 dated 5 May 1981, and a supplement A/CONF.107/5Add.1, both in English, contained reports from the USSR, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic [NOTE: The USSR has three votes in the U.N.], the German Democratic Republic, Romania and Bulgaria. Analysis of the content of the statements is revealing.

□USSR—The Soviet statement, dated March 31, 1981, confirmed that the "Soviet Union has given and continues to give all-round support to the national liberation movements of southern Africa;" and justifies this on the ground that the U.N. supports "giving moral and material support and assistance in every possible way to the people's fighting colonialism, racism and apartheid to achieve national liberation." The Soviet Union made a remarkable admission:

"...efforts are under way in the Soviet Union to mobilize world opinion in the fight to eliminate colonialism, racism and apartheid in southern Africa. Active measures in this direction are being carried out by Soviet social organizations including the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, the Soviet Afro-Asian Countries Solidarity Committee, the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace, the Committee of Soviet Women, the Committee of Youth Organizations of the USSR, and the Union of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies."

### "Active Measures"

The term "active measures" is applied by the Soviet intelligence services, the KGB and GRU, to all secret activities that involve more than just the collection of information. "Active measures" is a very broad term and covers both direct secret action by the Soviet intelligence agencies and indirect action via the Soviet-controlled international fronts and foreign Communist parties. "Active measures" may include front programs, agent-of-influence operations and the secret provision of training, weapons and other logistical support to terrorist "national liberation movements." The Soviet term "active measures" covers a far broader range of operations than does "covert action," the term used by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and other Free World intelligence services.

The Soviet statement and those of its satellites which also boast about "active measures" in support of ANC and SWAPO are especially interesting in that

the organizations they name as engaged in them include their sections of the international Communist fronts such as the World Peace Council (WPC), Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization (AAPSO), World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU), World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY) and Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF) in which Soviet control and direction is concealed.

In other words, the Soviets and the satellites are flagrantly admitting to activities normally kept strictly secret because they believe they can gain more support for their campaign against South Africa and Namibia boasting about them to radical Third World countries.

Predictably, the statements of the Warsaw Pact countries were very similar to the Soviet statement.

□Bulgaria—The Bulgarian statement, submitted in English as its original language, said:

"The Bulgarian Government provides full moral and material support to the peoples and movements fighting against racism and apartheid. It shows particular concern and care for the Namibian people who, under SWAPO's leadership, are fighting against colonial oppression.... Cadres of southern Africa's national liberation movements are being trained in Bulgaria...."

The Bulgarian government reported that it provides medical treatment to wounded ANC and SWAPO terrorists and continued:

"The People's Republic of Bulgaria provides all-round political, material and any other available help to the African National Congress of South Africa, including training of cadres in various higher education and other kinds of educational establishments."

Like the Soviet report, Bulgaria catalogued the activities of the Bulgarian sections of the international fronts including the WPC, WIDF, WFTU and AAPSO, operations the USSR termed "active measures."

□Hungary—The Hungarian statement, issued in English and dated May 5, 1981, confirmed that:

"The Hungarian People's Republic lends moral, political and material support...to the peoples and liberation movements in their struggle against colonialism.... As part of that support, the Hungarian Solidarity Committee has extended speedy assistance to the refugee camps of the liberation organizations and medical treatment to their combatants...."

A camp full of ANC or SWAPO "combatants" is not a refugee center, but a terrorist base.

Terming its support of SWAPO and ANC "active support" and "active solidarity," the Hungarian government called for "the complete and final liquidation of the vestiges of the colonial past" in southern Africa.

Hungary followed this ominous phraseology—which could cover an Ugandan-type mass deportation of southern Africans of Asian, European or mixed ancestry—with a perverse definition of terrorism, one previously voiced by the USSR and Cuba, which maintains that nothing done by a "national liberation movement" is "terrorism." The Hungarian government said:

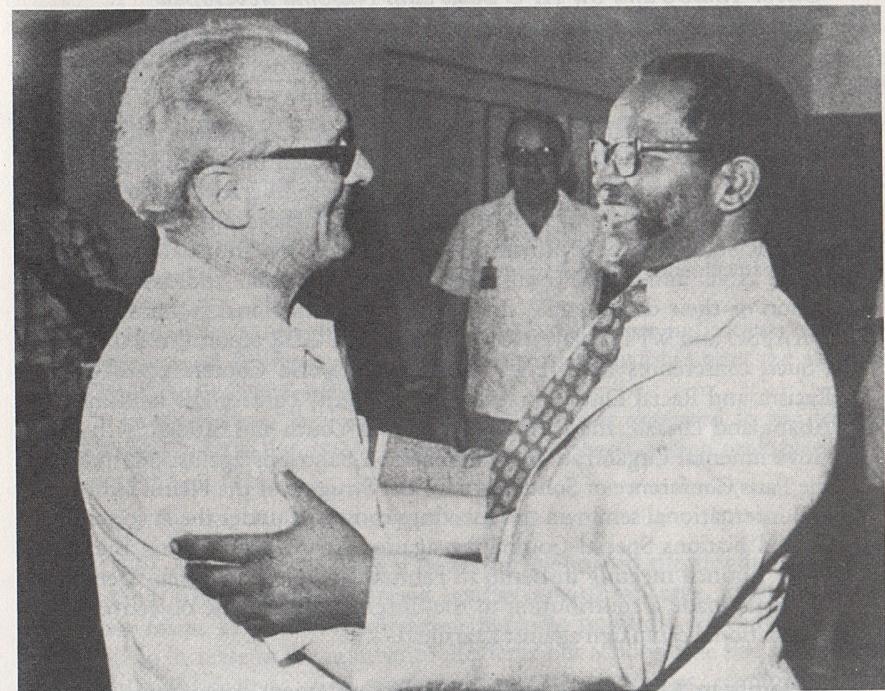
"...the Government and public opinion of Hungary recognize the right of peoples fighting for independence and liberation from colonial oppression to use every means at their disposal, including armed struggle. They re-

gard...their struggle for liberation, as being not a manifestation of terrorism, but, on the contrary, a just and legitimate form of action against the colonialist terror of imperialism."

□GDR—The report of the German Democratic Republic (GDR), dated April 20, 1981, with English its original language, boasted of the GDR's long-term role as the Soviet satellite primarily responsible for training and supporting African terrorists, and for establishing, training and overseeing the secret police and military services of the USSR's African satrapies such as Mozambique and Angola which provide bases for ANC and SWAPO. The East German government stated:

"The people and the Government of the German Democratic Republic stand firmly by the side of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia and their national liberation movements, ANC and SWAPO,... Consistent support for those peoples...and for the liberated countries...represents an inalienable principle of socialist foreign policy. That support is reflected in the German Democratic Republic's close relations with the nationally liberated states of Africa and the national liberation movements ANC and SWAPO."

The East German government's statement continued by explaining how material aid is given to the ANC and SWAPO terrorists using the GDR sections of



Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) and Chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic (GDR) greets Oliver Tambo, ANC President.

the international Soviet fronts as "cutouts," and how the GDR provided aid to the terrorist camps following South African raids:

"Material solidarity extended by the people of the German Democratic Republic complements political and diplomatic assistance. Assistance in many forms is given to the South African people by the country's social organizations—the Confederation of Free German Trade Unions, the Free German Youth and Democratic Women's League—the Solidarity Committee and the Peace Council. Since 1976, the German Democratic Republic Solidarity Committee has donated solidarity goods worth about 1,000 million marks. In the period from 1978 to 1980 alone, solidarity shipments of food, medicaments, clothing and tents at a value of 120 million marks went to Africa. Urgently required supplies were made available for ANC and SWAPO refugee camps and for the victims of South African acts of aggression. Wounded liberation fighters received medical treatment in the German Democratic Republic. Over 750 students and workers, mainly from African countries and liberation movements, are currently trained in this country...."

*Material support since 1978-1980*

*The GDR...emphasized its relationships with ANC president Oliver Tambo and SWAPO head Sam Nujoma developed during their many visits to East Berlin...*

The GDR also emphasized its relationships with ANC president Oliver Tambo and SWAPO head Sam Nujoma developed during their many visits to East Berlin, and that East Germany's "cooperation with these liberation movements has been promoted by the opening of ANC and SWAPO offices in the capital."

The GDR statement also provided a catalog of international conferences in support of ANC and SWAPO in which it "participated...and assisted in the elaboration of their documents." In them, the international fronts such as the WPC, AAPSO and WFTU played leading roles. The GDR report listed them as:

"Such conferences were, e.g., the Geneva World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, the solidarity conferences held in Addis Ababa and Lusaka, the Paris Conference of Youth and Students, the Non-Governmental Organization Conference on Sanctions against South Africa, the Paris Conference of Solidarity with the Struggle of the Namibian People, and international seminars and meetings convened under the auspices of the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid. Hosting the World Peace Council meeting in Berlin in February 1979, the German Democratic Republic made a contribution to the dissemination of the objectives of the international campaign against apartheid."

□**Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic**—Its statement dated April 13, 1981, with its original language Russian, paralleled that of the USSR, including a statement that "*active measures*" were being taken "to mobilize world public opinion in the struggle for the final elimination of the remnants of colonial-

ism, racism and apartheid in southern Africa...through trade union and other public organizations."

□**Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic**—Its statement in Russian dated April 8, 1981, noted the Ukraine's membership on the U.N. Special Committee Against Apartheid and its co-sponsorship of the U.N. General Assembly resolution for the holding of the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa. It denounced "the Afrikaner racists...supported by the many-sided assistance and close collaboration of a number of imperialist states and multinational corporations," and said:

"...the Ukrainian SSR resolutely supports the just struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa and their national liberation movement and gives them assistance. That assistance includes providing opportunities for representatives of the oppressed peoples of southern Africa to study at educational institutions in the Ukraine and making regular contributions to the International Defense and Aid Fund for Southern Africa."

As already noted, in 1978, the *Okhela* group in Amsterdam charged that the London-based International Defense and Aid Fund, to which the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic is a "regular contributor," was "controlled by members of the South African Communist Party." [See p. 19]

### Armed Struggle Chronology

The International Defense and Aid Fund provided the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa with a report entitled "Resistance and the Liberation Struggle" in South Africa. The report listed incidents that followed the June 1976 Soweto riots to 1980. The IDAF report was published by the U.N. General Assembly as document A/CONF.107/3 dated April 20, 1981.

Despite the caveat that the report expresses the views of its IDAF authors, it clearly expresses the views of the Sanctions Conference's organizers. The report shows that the resurgence of terrorist training by ANC commenced in 1975, 18 months before the Soweto rioting commenced. U.N. Document A/CONF.107/3 reported:

"During 1975 and the first half of 1976 there were indications of an increasing number of people leaving South Africa, mainly under the auspices of ANC, for military training.

"Amongst them were some of those who later appeared in the trial of the 'Pretoria Twelve' (State vs Sexwale and Others), which took place during 1977 and 1978.

\* \* \*

"The events of 1976 gave a powerful impetus to the trends already beginning. The instances of armed attacks, acts of sabotage, clashes with security forces increased rapidly from that time onwards. Not only has there been an increase in the number of incidents but actions have become increasingly sophisticated; using more sophisticated armaments, employing more sophisticated tactics, by highly trained guerrilla fighters.

"The build-up to the present level and form of armed resistance has passed through several distinct phases. Each phase has been at a higher level

than the preceding one in terms of actions which are militarily more sophisticated and increasingly the responsibility of organized armed groups (liberation movements).... The actions have also become more clearly related to the other struggles taking place at the time.

"The record appears to have been one of constant advance. Judging by subsequent events, periods of relative calm have signified periods of consolidation by the forces of organized armed resistance..., the establishment of arms caches and bases, and the careful planning and preparation for action."

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*...the IDAF/U.N. document warmly approves of these preparations for "armed struggle" actions that are obviously acts of terrorism, acts of violence targeted at the civilian sector of society.*

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The tone of the IDAF/U.N. document warmly approves of these preparations for "armed struggle" actions that are obviously acts of terrorism, acts of violence targeted at the civilian sector of society. And attached to the report was a list of 88 "incidents relating to the armed struggle" between 1976 and November 1980.

Thirty attacks are attributed to ANC including arson destruction of department stores, bombings of railway stations and tracks, attacks on police stations, a January 1980 bank raid in which hostages were killed, and the murders of former ANC members.

The report leaves unattributed a number of killings of former ANC members including witnesses in trials of ANC terrorists, and assassinations and attempted murders of anti-ANC black leaders in South Africa carried out with the Soviet AK-47s and hand grenades which are ANC's trademark.

## ANC Terrorism Campaign

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During 1979, generally ANC aimed its attacks at small police posts located near black townships like Soweto. Other favorite targets included public places such as train stations, department stores and office buildings.

One of the most shocking ANC terrorist assaults took place on January 25, 1980. Three ANC *Umkonto we Sizwe* terrorists armed with Soviet AK-47 assault rifles and hand grenades, raided a bank branch in suburban Pretoria, taking 25 people hostage.

The ANC terrorists demanded the release from prison of a number of revolutionaries, chief among whom were Nelson Mandela and the white Afrikaner poet Breyten Breytenbach, serving a nine-year prison term for his clandestine terrorist support activities as a member of the Curiel apparatus. They also demanded the release of James Daniel Mange, leader of a 12-man ANC terrorist unit which had been trained in Cuba, and which had smuggled Soviet weapons into South Africa from Mozambique. Mange's group was preparing terrorist attacks when they were apprehended; they were tried and convicted in November 1979. Mange was sentenced to death.

During the siege, the ANC terrorists told their hostages that the Volkskas Bank had been targeted because it was patronized by Afrikaans-speaking whites. "It is the bank of the Afrikaner nation and they are the oppressors," they were quoted as saying.

According to Brigadier General Albie Fourie, the ANC gunmen murdered a young woman teller in cold blood to demonstrate their determination to kill all hostages unless their demands were met. The shooting brought an immediate police counterattack during which the ANC terrorists threw hand grenades into the group of hostages wounding 11 and killing another woman. All three of the ANC terrorists were shot and killed; one police officer was wounded.

It is noted that in reporting the bank attack, many U.S. newspapers relied on an *Associated Press* dispatch that described the African National Congress as "black nationalists" and termed Nelson Mandela, the first leader of the terrorist *Umkonto* unit "a 61-year-old lawyer" who is "long regarded as the most probable head of a black government if one is ever established in South Africa." The AP story demonstrated the level of knowledge of southern Africa typical among U.S. and other Western journalists.

The second major attack in the on-going ANC terrorist offensive took place on June 1, 1980. ANC groups launched simultaneous attacks on three facilities of the South African Coal, Oil and Gas Corporation (SASOL), causing \$7 million in damages.

From the ANC's base in Tanzania, Oliver Tambo said that the attacks were carried out by members of *Umkonto we Sizwe* and that SASOL installations were attacked "because of their strategic position in the whole economy of South Af-

rica." A London-based ANC spokesman, Francis Meli, also confirmed that the SASOL sabotage is part of the general offensive of their movement.

*Tambo explained...that to destroy the country's efforts at energy self-sufficiency would facilitate efforts for an oil boycott to collapse South Africa's economy.*

Tambo explained further that to destroy the country's efforts at energy self-sufficiency would facilitate efforts for an oil boycott to collapse South Africa's economy. That objective, obviously, would damage black South Africans as much or more as it would whites and other groups.

According to South African newspapers, the individual coordinating ANC's sabotage and terrorism is Joe Slovo, 55, a member of the SACP Central Committee who is Tambo's chief advisor. Slovo, formerly a lawyer in Johannesburg, and his wife Ruth First Slovo, fled to avoid arrest in the late 1950s. They have operated from London, East Berlin and more recently from Maputo. Joe Slovo is a frequent contributor to the *African Communist*, with an article in the issue for the second quarter of 1978 supporting the applicability of "protracted armed struggle," that is, terrorism, to revolution in South Africa.

*...South African Minister of Police Louis LeGrange charged that the Russian Ambassador in Lusaka, Vasily Solodovnikov, played an important role in the planning of ANC and Communist strategy.*

It should also be pointed out that after the SASOL bombings, South African Minister of Police Louis LeGrange outlined Slovo's key role in the ANC's terrorist planning and charged that the Russian Ambassador in Lusaka, Vasily Solodovnikov, played an important role in the planning of ANC and Communist strategy. Solodovnikov is a senior KGB official who has been active in key African countries for more than a decade.

Slovo's wife, Ruth First Slovo, is also a Communist Party functionary and has taken a leadership role in the organization of the campaign against South Africa carried out in Western Europe by the Washington-based, Marxist think-tank, the Institute for Policy Studies and its international arm, the Transnational Institute (IPS/TNI).

Oliver Tambo, president of the ANC, demonstrated his extremism in a speech at an International Conference in Solidarity with the Struggle of the Namibian People, sponsored by the World Peace Council in Paris in September 1980. Said Tambo:

"Speaking as the leader of a liberation movement, I would like to assure our comrades-in-arms in the liberation struggles, POLISARIO, FRETELIN, and

the PLO, the fighters in the Canary Islands, that by definition their struggle is ours. Every victory they win advances our cause against the forces of imperialism and racism. We fight in our countries to advance their struggle. As far as the PLO is concerned our fight is carried on in the knowledge of the degree of intimacy and political, military and economic alliance that has developed between racism and Zionism.

Tambo also called the role of the five Western powers in seeking a solution to independence for Namibia "sinister in the extreme" and presented a four-point program: 1) to give massive support to fellow terrorists in SWAPO; 2) to rally international defense to support Angola which provides SWAPO with terrorist training bases and refuges; 3) to deal with the Western powers as being "the greatest source of misery and suffering in Namibia;" and 4) to deal with trans-national corporations as "those heartless vultures which feed on the sweat and blood of enslaved millions."

## South African Congress of Trade Unions

The most important front organization controlled by the South African Communist Party and African National Congress that is to some extent active inside South Africa is the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU).

SACTU's official history, entitled *Organize or Starve*, was published in 1980. It emphasizes that the campaigns of ANC and SACTU were never regarded as separate from each other, and that members of both organizations have committed equal energies to all "Congress work."

*Sechaba*, printed in East Germany as one of the many services provided by the GDR to ANC, contained the following commentary on SACTU's history:

"The relationship between the trade unions and the national liberation movement, the African National Congress, is clearly drawn—one built on many years of work amongst the masses in very difficult conditions."

The SACP has boasted of its clandestine work with ANC in organizing strikes by black labor organizations. For example, the SACP magazine, *Inkululeko*, [Second quarter, 1973], reported:

"Strikes are a potent force because they begin to instill fear into the capitalists; because they help to educate the workers about the true nature of the capitalist state...."

"The white ruling class will not surrender its control of the State without a violent struggle; therefore, the continuation of the preparation for such a struggle is essential for victory."

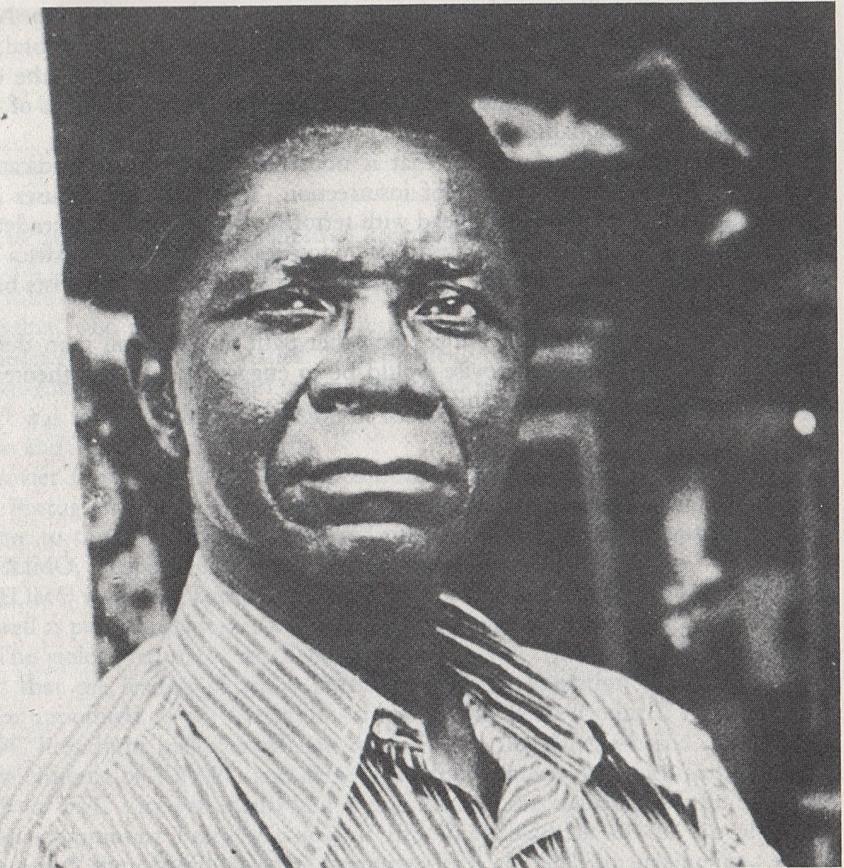
Additional evidence of SACP control over SACTU was provided in a biographical sketch of the SACP's new General Secretary, Moses Mabhida, published in *The African Communist* [No. 84, First Quarter, 1981]:

"In 1963, while still attached to the WFTU [World Federation of Trade Unions] headquarters [Prague, Czechoslovakia], Moses Mabhida was instructed by ANC President O.R. Tambo to leave the solidarity field and devote himself full-time to the work of Umkonto we Sizwe, the military wing of the liberation movement. With the approval of the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party, he undertook this task on which he has been engaged full-time in the ensuing period...."

"...he is a member of the Political Bureau of the SA Communist Party and of the National Executives of the African National Congress and of the SA Congress of Trade Unions."

The SACP biography described Mabhida as "not only African Nationalist but also proletarian internationalist, convinced by his readings in Marxism-Leninism, as well as by his own experience, of the indestructable bond between the forces of national liberation and the international Communist movement."

An article in *The African Communist* [Third Quarter, 1980] also illustrated the continuing SACP support for terrorist "armed struggle" as the "central task" of its movement. It stated:



Comrade S. Dlamini, President of SACTU

"In this period of struggle the urgent task of our movement is to inject into the masses of our people a feeling of confidence in their own potential to overthrow the racists, by means of vigorous revolutionary action, the main content of which must be effective and sustained guerrilla operations including a nationwide sabotage campaign reminiscent of the early sixties,...."

The author, who utilized the alias "Comrade Mzala," took pains to make certain that Communist Party members and supporters understood that the terrorism campaign was neither "individual terrorism" nor "adventurism;" but rather "armed struggle carried out under the direction of the SACP and subordinate to its strategy." As the article continued:

"My stress...on the role of armed struggle at this critical stage of our revolution is a deliberate approach that reflects the new requirements of the movement at a time when conditions have become ripe for vigorous armed revolution."

It continued:

"The experience of other countries like Algeria, Cuba, (and) Angola...

shows that guerrilla struggle can bring about a revolutionary situation. Nowadays this is more so because the liberation forces have at their disposal and advantage (which the Russian revolutionaries never had), that is, the existence of a socialist community which is committed to the principles of proletarian internationalism."

Objectively speaking, of course, that is nonsense. There are no indications that South Africa is on the point of insurrection. The ANC, which uses only blacks as its terrorists, is moving ahead with terrorism because its white leaders in Moscow think that terrorism is a useful tactic for destabilizing South Africa and weakening South Africa's defense of Namibia from the SWAPO terrorists based in Angola.

The article concludes that there is "no other path to liberation than that of armed struggle. To think otherwise would be to engage in a lifeless theoretical discussion lacking all practical significance."

## South West Africa People's Organization

The South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) is composed of radicalized elements of the Ovambo people who reside in the northernmost region of Namibia/Southwest Africa. SWAPO was organized in the late 1950s by Sam Nujoma, who remains SWAPO's president, for the purpose of attaining independence for Southwest Africa. During the 1960s, SWAPO dropped its initial "pan-African" ideology and increasingly replaced it with Marxism-Leninism. The shift was the result of the decision of the Soviet Union to support SWAPO and train and indoctrinate its recruits.

Soviet support for the SWAPO terrorists escalated sharply after 1974, when the Portuguese leftist military junta handed over control of Angola and Mozambique to the Soviet-backed Marxist-Leninist terrorist organizations, MPLA and FRELIMO, respectively. Both the Angolan MPLA and the Mozambican FRELIMO were long backed by the USSR with arms, training and indoctrination, as well as political assistance in the U.N. and other international arenas.

The violent nature of what the Communists call "peace" is indicated by the fact that the leaders of many terrorist "national liberation movements" have been appointed to the Presidium of the World Peace Council. At present the WPC Presidium includes officials of the PLO, the Algeria-based POLISARIO, Sam Nujoma of SWAPO and three ANC representatives: Oliver Tambo, Alfred Nzo (a WPC Vice-President) and Yusuf Dadoo, the chairman of the South African Communist Party who also is the Vice-Chairman of the Revolutionary Council of the African National Congress. [See, the SAIC magazine *Jana Shakti*, Vol. 8, August-September, 1979.]

*Since 1975, a network of training camps and bases have been established for SWAPO in southern Angola.*

*Training camps*  
Since 1975, a network of training camps and bases have been established for SWAPO in southern Angola. Evidence, including identity cards abandoned or taken from the bodies of white instructors killed by South African troops during commando raids against the SWAPO bases, shows that those training SWAPO members in terrorism include not only Cuban, East German and Bulgarian military officers, but also officers of the Soviet Red Army.

The involvement of Soviet Army officers in the training of SWAPO terrorists in Angola serves to highlight evidence provided by defectors from the Soviet military intelligence agency, the *Glavnoye Razvedyvatelnoye Upravlenye* (GRU) [Main Intelligence Directorate of the Soviet General Staff] that the GRU is responsible for training terrorists in operations parallel with those of the KGB.

In testimony before the Senate Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism on June 26, 1981, Robert Moss, Australian-born syndicated columnist for the London *Daily Telegraph* and author of several excellent books and studies of terrorism and subversion who has made a specialty of interviewing Soviet bloc intelligence defectors, testified in part as follows:

"Training of terrorists in the Soviet Union is the special responsibility of the Soviet military intelligence service, the GRU. Since the initials GRU are less well-known than those of its sister-service, the KGB, its role in the recruitment, training and orchestration of international terrorists is frequently underrated." ...

"The special task of the Second Direction [of the GRU] is to recruit and supervise networks of agent-terrorists in Western and Third World countries in parallel with the activities of the KGB. General oversight of this area belongs to the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee."

The head of the International Department of the Soviet Communist Party (CPSU) Central Committee is Boris Ponomarev, a member of the CPSU Politburo.



Sam Nujoma,  
President of  
SWAPO

Regarding SWAPO's methods, SWAPO's customary method for recruiting new members is to surround a small village and kidnap at gunpoint the young men and women. Once in the terrorist training camps, a quarter of the time of SWAPO's new terrorists is taken up with ideological indoctrination at the hands of Cubans, East Germans and Russians.

SWAPO also has a most ruthless method for dealing with black political groups and individuals who cooperate with the government of Southwest Africa/Namibia. These people, whom the Political Program of SWAPO called "pup-

pets" of South Africa and therefore "treacherous," become SWAPO targets for assassination.

The calculated murder of tribal chiefs who cooperate with the efforts of the Namibian government and South Africa to further progress and support change serves the dual purpose of intimidating the people of Namibia and of weakening tribalism, the strength of which has been an obstacle to the success of groups with a reputation of anti-chieftainship such as SWAPO. In South Africa, the ANC practices similar tactics.

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*In addition to its intolerance of opposition and overt hatred of representative democracy, SWAPO seems to be determined to deprive the various Namibian peoples of their culture.*

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In addition to its intolerance of opposition and overt hatred of representative democracy, SWAPO seems to be determined to deprive the various Namibian peoples of their culture. According to SWAPO's constitution, individualism and tribalism are among the "reactionary tendencies" which must be combatted.

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*SWAPO's most common "armed struggle" tactic...is its planting of land mines on public roads at random.*

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SWAPO's most common "armed struggle" tactic—and one that demonstrates SWAPO is a terrorist organization, not a practitioner of legitimate "guerrilla warfare," is its planting of land mines on public roads at random. SWAPO claims these mines have been intended for government soldiers, but they have rarely been the victims. More often, it is the local residents who are maimed or killed because the mines are usually planted on small country roads.

Most of SWAPO's mines are made in either the Soviet Union or Yugoslavia.

Again, the Soviet backing for the SWAPO terrorist organization is not a secret, as noted already in the section reporting on the official statements of the Soviet and Communist U.N. diplomatic delegations. Terrorists frequently boast of their backing from the Soviet Union because they believe that support from a "super-power" gives them a certain legitimacy. SWAPO's Sam Nujoma is in that category.

In his address to the March 1981 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Nujoma described Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev as a "devoted, staunch fighter for peace, detente, freedom and the peoples' rights and human dignity of all the world's people." Nujoma then directly acknowledged Soviet assistance to SWAPO by saying that "without the support of the Soviet Union, we would not have been able to achieve those results that we have achieved today....We address ourselves to the Soviet Union which is giving com-

prehensive support to the people of Namibia." ANC leader Alfred Nzo also addressed the Soviet Party Congress.

Besides such direct acknowledgement of Soviet assistance, Western intelligence and counter-terrorist specialists—and even some journalists—have discovered that the Soviet Union, directly and through satellites like Cuba, East Germany, North Korea, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria, and client states such as Algeria, Angola, Libya, Mozambique and South Yemen, provides training, logistical support and political guidance for terrorist groups.

Among the terrorist organizations that have received Soviet support are the Basque *Euzkadi ta Azkatasuna* (ETA) [Basque Nation and Freedom] in Spain, Red Brigades in Italy, Irish Republican Army, the Algeria-based Marxist POLISARIO attempting to seize control of the Western Sahara and topple the pro-Western government of Morocco, Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), ANC and SWAPO.

The evidence of Soviet backing for terrorism, including that practiced by the African National Congress and South West Africa People's Organization, is overwhelming. The evidence derived from the investigations of the Curiel *Solidarite* network in Europe is that the Soviets also effectively control major support operations for ANC and SWAPO. Because of this evidence, and the presence of Oliver R. Tambo, president of the ANC, and Moses Garoeb, administrative secretary of SWAPO, at conferences in New York and Washington, D.C., in which strategies for economic warfare against South Africa and Namibia were planned, it is important to examine the purpose, the proceedings and the identity of the other participants.

## Washington Conference

The first conference, entitled "Building Forces Against United States Support for South Africa," was held at Howard University on June 8, 1981, in Washington, D.C. The conference was co-sponsored by the Southern Africa Support Project (SASP), a Washington-based activist group, and by TransAfrica, a lobbying group headed by Randall Robinson, former executive director of the Congressional Black Caucus.

Speakers included B. Akporode Clark, Chairman of the U.N. Special Committee on Apartheid; Oliver R. Tambo; Moses Garoeb; Representative William Gray, vice-chairman, Congressional Black Caucus; Dr. Robert Cummings, Department of African Studies, Howard University; Canon Robert C.S. Powell, director, African Office, National Council of Churches; and Randall Robinson, director of TransAfrica.

At a press conference preceding the Howard University conference, Randall Robinson, accompanied by the ANC and SWAPO leaders, local activists, representatives of the Congressional Black Caucus, and the chairman of the U.N. Special Committee Against Apartheid, B. Akporode Clark, released what he claimed were confidential State Department documents including memorandums and summaries of meetings with South African officials written by Chester A. Crocker, the designated Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs.

These so-called "State Department papers" were used by Garoeb to denounce the United States government as having "declared war" on the people of Namibia. Tambo denounced the United States and South Africa for engaging in what he said was identical "extreme racism and brutality."

SWAPO is opposed to the possible development of international support for a U.S.-proposed "trade-off" which would demand the complete withdrawal of Cuban, Soviet and other Communist military forces from Angola and the formation of a coalition government in Angola with UNITA's Jonas Savimbi in exchange for SWAPO's participation in the government of an independent Namibia in which property rights and the rights of all racial and ethnic groups would be guaranteed.

In a pragmatic political sense, one might think that SWAPO's leader, Sam Nujoma, would be pleased to accept an opportunity to end the killing and participate in elections. Nujoma's opposition to ending the fighting demonstrates that he is controlled by the Soviet Union—which stands to gain from a prolonged conflict—and by his own extremism.

On June 1, 1981, Nujoma was quoted in the major U.S. newspapers attacking the United States and other Western Five powers because they "want to force SWAPO to agree to the preservation of the privileges of the racist minority and the transnational corporations in Namibia."

The conference adopted a "National Declaration" that concluded:

"We realize...that in order to create change in our government's foreign

policy, we must create change here at home.....The U.S. Government is not synonymous with the American people,....

"When a government is not representative of its populous, the people must find ways to act directly. In such situations, the tactic of petitioning the government for redress is futile."

The declaration put no limitation on what "direct action" might entail. As seen earlier, for militants of *Okhela*, "direct action" included transnational terrorism—terrorist actions carried out by local terrorists in their own country on behalf of terrorists in a foreign land.

A racist aspect of the campaign was revealed by the fact that although white activists participated in the Howard conference, the declaration purported to be an all-black proposal. The "National Declaration" said, "We, as Black Americans, have expressed particular solidarity over the years with the struggles in southern Africa."

The declaration outlined several "direct action" proposals:

"1. There is a fundamental difference between the formulation of foreign policy decisions and the implementation of these decisions. We see that there are *critical impact points* in the implementation process of U.S. foreign policy decisions upon which, because of who we are and where we are placed within the American system, we as a people have an immediate, direct *hands-on impact capability*. When the U.S. decides to accept uranium from South Africa for enrichment purposes, for example, the implementation of this decision passes through the hands of longshoremen, communications workers, secretaries in the bureaucracies, in short, technical, industrial, service and clerical workers;

"2. Access to information about events in southern Africa and foreign policy (how it is made and how it connects to our domestic reality) historically has been obstructed, thereby skewing our sense of power and our own capability to impact policy;

"3. An effective massive educational drive is necessary...; further, we must educate ourselves to our real potential to impact policy via the roles that each of us plays, particularly communication, transportation and bureaucratic workers, in the implementation of foreign policy decisions (goal: to understand what it is that we do in our daily lives and that if we did not do it or we did it slightly differently, it would have a direct/immediate impact....")

In order to set the stage for implementing point number three, the conference decided to set up a "small working group" to develop a plan for the "educational" drive and to prepare an "assessment of the positions/locations of Black Americans, physically, geographically, professionally, etc. throughout the U.S. in relationship to the implementation of foreign policy decisions."

The implication of the proposals is that the goal may include "direct action" options such as espionage, sabotage in both non-violent and violent forms, wildcat strikes and other measures.

## Pro-Soviet Stance

The "National Declaration" demonstrated an appreciation of the strategic

role of South Africa and Namibia to the Free World for the defense of the Cape and South Atlantic oil tanker routes against the growing Soviet presence in Africa and in the Indian Ocean. But the declaration rejected the legitimacy of such concerns, stating:

"We view with particular alarm...cultivation of U.S. friendship toward South Africa...rationalized by its strategic importance as an anti-Communist bulwark and protector of the seas around the Cape of Good Hope, where the majority of U.S. imported oil flows. There are reports of a South Atlantic defense alliance."

The participants pledged to lend their available personal and institutional resources to the carrying out of these goals.

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*The participants included a mixture of radical academics, anti-South Africa activists, a large delegation of ANC and SWAPO members, some African and U.N. diplomats, leading members of Soviet-controlled international Communist front organizations, and some U.S. Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries.*

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The participants included a mixture of radical academics, anti-South Africa activists, a large delegation of ANC and SWAPO members, some African and U.N. diplomats, leading members of Soviet-controlled international Communist front organizations, and some U.S. Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries.

African National Congress participants in the conference included Oliver Tambo; Johnstone "Johnny" Makatini, head of ANC's U.N. observer office and former ANC liaison chief in Algeria who was responsible for obtaining terrorist training for ANC members in Cuba and Algeria; Dumi Matabane, the ANC's Washington, D.C., representative; Paula Matabane, and various members of ANC's United Nations New York group: S. Choabi, T. Mbeki, T. Mbousa and A. Mkhize.

Josephine D. Butler, also participated. She was presented to the conference as a leader of the D.C. Statehood Party; she is also a founder of the U.S. section of the World Peace Council and a leader of the local chapter of the Paul Robeson Friendship Society, a Communist Party, U.S.A. (CPUSA) front for solidarity with East Germany. *Freedomways*, a CPUSA magazine for minorities, was represented by Jean Carey Bond, and John Henrik Clarke, a professor at Hunter College in New York. Charlene Mitchell of the CPUSA Central Committee also was present, but as the executive secretary of a major CPUSA front organization, the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression (NAARPR). The mere mention of the word "Communist" has been an embarrassment to party members since the days of Stalin's Moscow purge trials in the mid-1930s; thus the creation of fronts as traps for the innocent, the blind and the stupid.

Other participants also included two activists from the National Conference of Black Lawyers (NCBL), a U.S. affiliate of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers (IADL). The IADL was characterized in a recent hearing of the House Intelligence Committee as "one of the most useful Communist front or-

ganizations at the service of the Soviet Communist Party." The NCBL members attending were Lauren Anderson and Jackie Mitchell, both of the NCBL's New York headquarters.

Additional activists present included George Houser, who has led the principal U.S. support group for Soviet-backed revolutionary terrorist movements on the African continent, the American Committee on Africa (ACOA), throughout the 30 years since its inception; Larry Holmes, the 1980 Vice Presidential candidate of the Marxist-Leninist ultra-military Workers World Party (WWP), a group that has moved from Trotskyism into virtual "Stalinism" and looks toward North Korea, Cuba and the USSR internationally; Rev. Edgar "Ted" Lockwood, director of the Washington Office on Africa Educational Fund (WOAEF), the tax-exempt branch of a lobbying arm established by the ACOA; Jean Sindab, who recently replaced Lockwood as director of the Washington Office on Africa (WOA); District of Columbia Mayor Marion Barry, who in the early 1960s adopted as his middle name "Shepilov," the surname of a Soviet Communist Party leader purged for "Stalinism;" Jack Calhoun, an editor of the U.S. Marxist-Leninist weekly, *The Guardian*; Mark W. Harrison of Clergy and Laity Concerned (CALC), an organization that backed the Communist terrorist forces in Indochina during the 1960s and 1970s; William Lucy, secretary-treasurer of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) and an executive of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU) in which CPUSA veterans play leading roles; Damu Smith, a pro-Cuba organizer employed by the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC); William H. Simons, Washington Teachers Union; Archie Singham, a founder of the U.S. Peace Council; Cleveland Robinson, District 65, United Auto Workers (a union local long dominated by the CPUSA); Washington activist James Early; Sandra and Sylvia Hill of the Southern Africa Support Project; and Imari Obadele [Richard Henry], head of the violence-oriented Republic of New Africa (RNA) who was convicted of federal offenses related to a 1971 Jackson, Mississippi, shootout with RNA members in which one Jackson police officer was killed, another was wounded, and an FBI agent was shot.

*...the stated purpose of the meeting is to alter U.S. foreign policy along lines favorable to the ANC and SWAPO,...*

Considering the extensive participation of the two foreign principals, the African National Congress and South West Africa People's Organization, and taking into account the direction that functionaries of these two organizations provided at this event and the fact that the stated purpose of the meeting is to alter U.S. foreign policy along lines favorable to the ANC and SWAPO, it would be appropriate that the U.S. Department of Justice should be concerned to require the ACOA, TransAfrica and the other U.S. groups who organized the conference to register as foreign agents.

In June 1981, Representative Larry McDonald asked the Attorney General to

consider whether a foreign agents proceeding might be appropriate regarding the ACOA, Trans-Africa, Washington Office on Africa and other groups that organized the conference. In a letter dated July 1, 1981, the Justice Department replied that to require registration under the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, as amended, 22 U.S.C. §611 *et seq.*, "the Department must be able to prove that the agent 'acts at the order, request, or under the direction or control of' the ANC or SWAPO." The Justice Department said it lacked the information necessary to start such an investigation.

Congressman McDonald commented that a "Catch 22" paradox has existed since the imposition of unrealistic Guidelines for internal security investigations by Attorney General Edward Levi. The Justice Department must already have proof that a violation of federal law has occurred or is about to occur within the immediate future before it may open an investigation. But unless proof of a prosecutable violation of the law is found within 90 days, the investigation must be terminated and all files made available to the group that was being investigated, should it make such a request under the Freedom of Information Act.

The situations under which the FBI, the U.S. counter-intelligence agency, can penetrate a terrorist support infrastructure constructed along the lines of the *Solidarite* network built by Henri Curiel for the Soviet KGB simply do not occur.

## New York Conference

While the ANC and SWAPO toured the United States in an effort to give impetus and direction to the campaign to influence U.S. public opinion and foreign policy, the U.S. activists who arranged the ANC/SWAPO tour intensified their economic warfare campaign in America to help weaken the terrorists' targets.

A "Conference on Public Investment and South Africa" was organized by nine groups that play key roles in coordinating economic warfare campaigns in the United States. Held at the United Nations in New York, June 12-13, 1981, the conference was supported by the U.N. Special Committee Against Apartheid. Eight of the nine organizations are members of the Campaign Against Investment in South Africa (CAISA).

The CAISA members are the American Committee on Africa (ACOA), TransAfrica, the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), Washington Office on Africa (WOA), Clergy and Laity Concerned (CALC), Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility (ICCR), the Connecticut Anti-Apartheid Committee, and United Methodist Church Office for the United Nations (which hosted some of the conference events). The ninth member of CAISA is itself a somewhat redundant and parallel coalition led by many of these same groups, the Campaign to Oppose Bank Loans to South Africa (COBLSA), which is based in ACOA's offices.

*...the purpose of the conference was described as initiating a "legislative campaign in the United States against public investment in South Africa,..."*

In a press release, the purpose of the conference was described as initiating a "legislative campaign in the United States against public investment in South Africa," by bringing together "two dozen State and municipal representatives with trade union, civil rights, church and community organizations who form the backbone of local coalitions pressing for divestment action."

The goal of the conference was to coordinate efforts by "progressive" State and local legislators to pass statutes banning investment of state monies and pension funds in any companies doing business with South Africa or Namibia, or from placing public funds in any bank making loans to South Africa or to American companies doing business there.

State Representative Albert Price of Beaumont, Texas, explained the process by which state legislators have been maneuvered into introducing such bills by relating how he had received a call from Randall Robinson's TransAfrica asking him to

introduce disinvestment legislation. TransAfrica already has such legislation conveniently available.

Oregon State Senator Bill McCoy expressed his gratification that the conference showed the two dozen State and local legislators assembled at the conference that they would have the backing of the United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid, the African-American Institute (AAI), and TransAfrica as well as the other activist groups in their legislative districts.

Opening events of the conference were held at the United Nations. The chairman of the opening was Judge William Booth, president of the ACOA. The keynote speaker was Ruth Messinger, a member of the New York City Council who is active with the National Conference for Alternative State and Local Public Policies (NCASLPP), a project of the Marxist Institute for Policy Studies think-tank (IPS). A number of the participants had been active with the NCASLPP. The founder and director of the NCASLPP, IPS fellow and former Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) leader Lee Webb said in an internal memo that the Cubans hoped to use the group as a vehicle to get U.S. leftist officials to visit Cuba, and outlined an "alternative" program involving sending such U.S. local officials to Europe for guided tours of Italian Communist and Yugoslavian ways of running local government institutions. Mrs. Messinger was a founder of the World Peace Council's U.S. section in December 1979, and was a featured participant in the opening of a New York City U.S. Peace Council chapter in February 1980. [Peace Courier, monthly newsletter of the WPC, Helsinki, March 1980, p. 8.]

Georgia State Senator Julian Bond provided the keynote address and noted that during the previous week in Atlanta, on the occasion of visits by ANC president Oliver Tambo and Moses Garoeb of SWAPO, southern activists held a conference targeted at forcing the Southern Company to end its purchases of low-sulfur South African coal. Bond said the economic campaign must "end U.S. complicity in perpetuation of the most vicious government on the face of the Earth."

A panel discussion followed in which Michigan State Representative Perry Bulard, another NCASLPP veteran, described Michigan State University's 1978 disinvestment decision, and a statute passed in Michigan in 1980 that prohibits state funds from being deposited in banks making loans to South Africa, to South African corporations, or to U.S. firms doing business there. Others participating were Connecticut Anti-Apartheid Committee chairman Christy Hoffman; and John Harrington, political coordinator of the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) and a member of California Governor Jerry Brown's Task Force on Public Investment.

The Saturday morning session was held at the United Methodist Church's building facing the United Nations. The leading scheduled participants included James Farmer, executive director for the Coalition of American Public Employees (CAPE); Bill Lucy, secretary-treasurer of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) and president of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU); and Robert J. Schwartz, vice-president of an investment counseling firm, Shearson, Loeb Rhoades, Inc.

Schwartz, who acts as an advisor for union pension funds and is a specialist on "socially responsible investment" advice, said the disinvestment of pension funds and public monies must include assurances that other profitable invest-

ments can be made that will not damage the portfolio. This line of reasoning was not popular with the militant Marxists who were present. Schwartz maintained that union pension funds recognize that "socially responsible" investments exclude companies charged with violating Occupational Safety and Health Administration regulations, companies that cause pollution, companies with "anti-union" managements, and, now, any company which does business with South Africa.

New York State Assemblyman Albert Vann, chairman of the Black and Puerto Rican Caucus, said that New York City's status as an institutional banking center has spurred efforts to get the State Assembly's Banking Committee to support regulations banning any loans to South Africa or Namibia by banks chartered in New York State. Vann stressed that passage of such restrictions were "crucial." Vann was supported by New York Assemblyman Roger Green, who pointed out that the political base for passing such laws existed in the fact that New York City's population was presently 50 percent non-white and that organizers "had the benefit of direct contact with liberation movement representatives and liberation support groups."

*The support for economic warfare exemplified by statements at this conference contrasts sharply with the position of black South African labor and political leaders who oppose economic sanctions and disinvestment programs...*

The support for economic warfare exemplified by statements at this conference contrasts sharply with the position of black South African labor and political leaders who oppose economic sanctions and disinvestment programs because they would inflict massive suffering on black South African workers. Furthermore, they point to indications that improving economic conditions in South Africa have brought progress in the social arena.

However, the revolutionary movements and their supporters continue to pursue policies intended to cause the maximum amount of economic stress. Their line of reasoning was that healthy economic conditions when assisted by foreign investment and sufficient job opportunities, "postpones the day of fundamental change." This, of course, is coded terminology for revolution.

To support their program of economic stress, ruin and poverty for the people of southern Africa, they claim is to be "socially responsible;" but to support investment, expansion of industry, creation of more skilled jobs and earning opportunities for all South Africans—all part of steady social progress—they assert is "socially irresponsibility."

George Orwell called it "double think."

Among those taking leadership roles in organizing what was termed a "legislative campaign in the United States against public investment in South Africa" and in bringing together "two dozen State and municipal representatives with trade union, civil rights, church and community organizations who form the backbone of local coalitions pressing for divestment action" were the following:

Randy Barber, director, Pension Investment and Control Issues (formerly with the People's Business Commission and its predecessor, the People's Bicentennial Commission, established by activists associated with IPS.)

Ann Beaudry, program director, National Center For Economic Alternatives (NCEA), a group headed by IPS veteran activist Gar Alperovitz.

Peggy Buchanan, Connecticut Anti-Apartheid Committee.

Carol Collins, coordinator, COBLSA.

Mark Harrison, human rights coordinator, Clergy and Laity Concerned (CALC).

Jerry Herman, director, Southern Africa Program, AFSC.

George Houser, who founded ACOA 30 years ago and led the organization until his July 1981 retirement.

Jack Kittridge, Massachusetts Community Action.

Beata Klein, author, *U.S. Bank Loans to South Africa*.

Dumisi Kumalo, field representative, ACOA.

Edgar "Ted" Lockwood, WOA Education Fund.

James Madison, National Director for Political Action, NAACP.

James Mayes, Conference on Alternative State and Local Policies (CASLP), founded as the NCASLPP by IPS.

Gail Morlan, research director, ACOA.

Randall Robinson, executive director, TransAfrica.

Christine Root, a founder of the WOA.

William Schweke, CASLP (NCASLPP).

Jean Sindab, executive director, WOA.

Meg Skinner, Southern African Program, Wisconsin AFSC.

Timothy Smith, executive director, Interfaith Center for Corporate Responsibility (ICCR).

Robert Walke, People for Southern Africa Freedom, Oregon.

Kim Zalent, Lutheran Coalition of South Africa.

Legislators participating included: Senator Jack Bachman, Massachusetts; Senator Julian Bond, Georgia; Representative Carolyn Moseby, Indiana; Senator Joe Neal, Nevada; Senator Allan Spear, Minnesota; Senator Ernest Chambers, Nebraska; Representative Perry Bullard, Michigan; Representative Virgil Smith, Michigan; Representative Marcia Coggs, Wisconsin; Assemblyman Albert Vann, New York; Assemblyman Roger Green, New York; Representative Albert Price, Texas; Senator Bill McCoy, Oregon; and Assemblyman Herman Farrell, New York.

### Soviet Covert Action: WPC Plans Conference in New York

As already discussed, the Justice Department declined to investigate whether the U.S. organizations that planned the June 1981 conference on economic and political warfare against South Africa in which the ANC and SWAPO leaders

took leading roles, should be required to register as foreign agents. The Justice Department implied that it could not open such an investigation unless it already had proof that the U.S. groups acted "at the order, request, or under the direction or control of" a foreign principal.

With the announcement of a "Conference in Solidarity with the Liberation Struggles of the Peoples of Southern Africa" there could be no doubt that the major U.S. groups supporting the ANC and SWAPO were acting at the behest of a foreign principal—the Soviet Union's main "active measures" front, the World Peace Council.

Scheduled for October 9-11, 1981, and organized from the United Methodist Office for the United Nations, the Solidarity conference organizers are Soviet-controlled international Communist fronts and their affiliates in the United States, Communist Party, U.S.A. front organizations, and allied groups supporting the Soviet-backed terrorist movements in southern Africa.

The literature distributed by conference organizers stated that both the African National Congress and the South West Africa People's Organization were co-sponsors of the event, and stated that ANC president Oliver Tambo and SWAPO president Sam Nujoma would open a morning plenary. Aside from their positions as leaders of terrorist organizations, their positions as members of the podium of WPC should normally disqualify them for U.S. visas.

The New York "Conference in Solidarity with Liberation Struggles of the People of Southern Africa (CSLCPA) was initiated by the International Committee Against Apartheid, Racism and Colonialism in Southern Africa (ICSA). The conference call said ICSA "is the international body charged with continuing the work of the 1977 World Conference Against Apartheid, Racism and Colonialism in Southern Africa held in Lisbon, and with implementing the program of action adopted at that gathering."

### *...ICSA is in fact a second-generation Soviet front.*

This means that ICSA is in fact a second-generation Soviet front. The Lisbon conference was organized by the World Peace Council and the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization (AAPSO), another of the USSR's international front organizations actively involved in supporting Soviet-backed terrorist "national liberation" movements.

The nature of AAPSO was demonstrated in resolutions adopted at various AAPSO conferences in the months immediately prior to the Lisbon meeting on southern Africa. AAPSO recognized the terrorist Palestine Liberation Organization as "the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people," asserted the outbreak of civil war in Lebanon was the result of an "imperialist-Zionist reactionary plot, and praised the USSR's support for "peoples fighting for their freedom" with the AAPSO secretary-general urging "all progressive and anti-imperialist forces" to recognize the importance of alliance with the "Socialist" countries, "above all with the Soviet Union." [Yearbook on International Com-

*munist Affairs* 1978, Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University, Stanford, California, pp. 453-454.]

The WPC and AAPSO "World Conference Against Apartheid, Racism and Colonialism" opened in Lisbon on June 16, 1977. As reported in the 1978 *Yearbook on International Communist Affairs*, the final resolution "demanded that the U.N. Security Council prevent foreign investment in South Africa and called for the withdrawal of all multinational companies from South Africa, for an arms embargo on that country, and for condemnation of the United States, France, West Germany and Israel for complicity in the alleged South African nuclear program. Finally the declaration strongly supported the armed struggles of the people against the governments of Rhodesia, Namibia, and South Africa, and urged the Arab and non-aligned countries to consider an economic boycott of the Western countries maintaining trade relations with Rhodesia and South Africa."

The WPC's Lisbon meeting also set up a subsidiary body to "implement the program of action," the ICSA.

The "call" to the New York solidarity conference states:

"The International Committee Against Apartheid, Racism and Colonialism in Southern Africa (ICSA) has initiated this first in a worldwide series of solidarity conferences and is co-operating in its organization."

The political purpose of the solidarity conference is stated plainly, to:

"...spur the mobilization of maximum national support for the liberation movements at this critical stage in the Reagan Administration's formulation of foreign policy."

The organizers stressed the political importance of the conference they were organizing for the WPC's ICSA, pointing out again that the meeting would be held "at a time when the posture of our government towards both the independent and yet-to-be-liberated nations of Southern Africa portends more reactionary and dangerous actions." They predicted the event "will be a watershed in the efforts...to combat current U.S. policy trends."

Conference coordinator is Carl Bloice, a member of the CPUSA Central Committee and long-time editor of the Communist Party's West Coast weekly newspaper, *People's World*, who is active in the CPUSA's front for supporting African terrorist organizations, the National Anti-Imperialist Movement in Solidarity with African Liberation (NAIMSAL).

The President of the CSLCPA Preparatory Committee is Rep. Ronald V. Dellums [D-CA]; while Lennox S. Hinds, the U.N. representative of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers (IADL) and a leader of the National Conference of Black Lawyers (NCBL), a U.S. affiliate of the IADL, is Chairman of the CSLCPA Preparatory Committee Secretariat. The identities of other Preparatory Committee members were not made public.

The organizational sponsors of the conference are listed as:

•American Committee on Africa (ACOA)—originated from meetings in London in 1951 between members of the Soviet-controlled African National Congress and U.S. black activist Bill Sutherland. Sutherland, 62, later for a time was an employee of the Marxist Tanzanian government. For the last several years, Sutherland has been employed by the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) and from Tanzania and the United States has coordinated AFSC and other support activities for ANC and SWAPO.

Shortly after the London meetings, and with the agreement of Walter Sislulu, the ANC secretary-general and a member of the South African Communist Party, a forerunner of ACOA was formed called Americans for South African Resistance (ASAR). ASAR was headed by a white U.S. "peace activist," George Houser, who had been executive director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE).

Houser reorganized ASAR into the ACOA. During the 25 years in which Houser led the organization, ACOA has supported many pro-Soviet revolutionaries and terrorist movements including the Algerian FLN, Congolese Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba, the African Party for the Liberation of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC), Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO), Zimbabwe Patriotic Front, and currently the Marxist POLISARIO front based in Algeria and attempting to overthrow the government of pro-Western Morocco.

In the summer of 1981, Houser retired as ACOA executive director and was replaced by Jennifer Davis, a white South African "exile" and member of the *Southern Africa* magazine collective who had served for nearly a decade as research director for ACOA.

•**Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU)**—an organization in which CPUSA veterans and militants continue to play leading roles, among them Charles Hayes, International Vice-President, United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) and an activist in the CPUSA's trade union front, Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy (TUAD).

•**International Association of Democratic Lawyers (IADL)**—described in a CIA Report on Soviet Propaganda Operations prepared at the request of the House Intelligence Committee and published by the committee in 1978, as "one of the most useful Communist front organizations at the service of the Soviet Communist Party." The report noted that at its 1975 conference in Algiers, "the real and ideological interests of the IADL were covered by the agenda...which considered law to be a function in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, racism and apartheid. Under the banner of anti-imperialism, the IADL's thrust...was to do battle with the large international companies as a way to gain adherents and backing in the developing world."

The IADL has a Western Hemisphere regional subsidiary, the Association of American Jurists (AAJ), headquartered in Havana. The NCBL and National Lawyers Guild (NLG) are affiliated with both the IADL and AAJ.

•**National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression (NAARPR)**—a CPUSA front organization formed in 1973, led by CPUSA Central Committee members Charlene Mitchell and Angela Davis, active in supporting the "prison movement," violent convicted criminals, rioters and "civil rights" causes.

•**National Anti-Imperialist Movement in Solidarity with African Liberation (NAIMSAL)**—a CPUSA front organization formed in 1973 to support Soviet-backed revolutionary terrorist movements in Africa.

•**National Conference of Black Churchmen.**

•**National Conference of Black Lawyers (NCBL)**—a U.S. affiliate of the Soviet-front IADL.

•**National Lawyers Guild (NLG)**—the largest U.S. affiliate of the IADL, organized with the assistance of the Comintern in 1936 as a CPUSA legal action

front and still controlled by a working coalition of CPUSA veterans and supporters, Castroites and "New Left" revolutionaries who support terrorism.

•**Operation PUSH**—The Chicago-based group headed by Rev. Jesse Jackson whose "international relations" director, Jack O'Dell, alias Hunter Pitts O'Dell, was identified in Congressional testimony as the CPUSA's top southern organizer in the late 1950s. In the early 1960s, O'Dell's high-level position as an aide to Rev. Martin L. King in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference caused a national controversy. With O'Dell as Jackson's international adviser, Operation PUSH has become involved with pro-Palestine Liberation Organization activities.

•**Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP)**—a Castroite Communist group whose goal of making Puerto Rico the next Marxist-Leninist state in the Americas is supported by the World Peace Council. The PSP has a long record for involvement with revolutionary violence and terrorism, and its activities serve as the umbrella under which the FALN and other Puerto Rican Castroite terrorist groups operate.

•**Southern Africa Magazine**—a publication that publicizes and supports African terrorist movements which the Justice Department attempted to require to register as a foreign agent for one of the pro-Soviet African governments several years ago.

The publishing collective was defended by NLG attorney Peter Weiss, president of the board of trustees of the Institute for Policy Studies. Among the members of the Southern Africa collective are ACOA's Jennifer Davis, WOA's Christine Root and Edgar "Ted" Lockwood, and Tim Smith, Interfaith Center for Corporate Responsibility.

•**U.S. Peace Council (USPC)**—the U.S. affiliate of the Soviet-controlled World Peace Council. USPC leaders include such CPUSA veterans as Abe Feinglass, a member of the WPC presidential committee; and Michael Myerson, a long-time functionary of the New York State Communist Party.

•**Washington Office on Africa (WOA)**—the lobbying arm founded by the ACOA that has consistently supported U.S. policies favorable to African revolutionary and terrorist groups. WOA's founders, Edgar "Ted" Lockwood and Christine Root, both members of the *Southern Africa* magazine collective, remain leading organizers of ANC and SWAPO support. In 1981, a former intern and staffer, Jean Sindab, was named WOA director.

•**Women for Racial [and Economic] Equality (WREE)**—a CPUSA front which is the U.S. affiliate of the Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF), another of the international Soviet fronts.

Money raised from registration fees for the CSLSPA was handled by the IADL's National Conference of Black Lawyers (checks were to be made out to the "NCBL/Solidarity Conference," but sent to the United Methodist Office for the U.N., which provided office space).

Sponsors of the conference included:

Bella Abzug, president, Women, U.S.A.

Jose Alberto Alvarez, First Secretary, PSP, and a founding sponsor of the U.S. Peace Council (USPC).

Louis D. Armand, Graduate Students Assn., UCLA.

Barbara Armentrout, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF).

Chauncy Bailey, executive director, Black Press Institute

Eugenia Bain, African Heritage Studies Association, NY.

Harry Belafonte.

Virginia Reade Belmontes, co-coordinator, Coalition to Stop the Racist Africa Consulate, Los Angeles.

Jean Carey Bond, associate editor, *Freedomways* magazine, a Communist Party, U.S.A. publication directed to blacks.

Julian Bond, Georgia Legislature.

Haywood Burns, NCBL leader and acting dean/vice-provost, Urban & Legal Programs, City College of New York.

Vinie Burrows, Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF), U.N. representative and a leader of WREE.

John Carro, Judge, Appellate Division, Supreme Court of New York.

Robert Chrisman, editor, *The Black Scholar*, a pro-Castro Marxist magazine.

Charles L. Cobb, Sr., executive director, Commission on Racial Justice, United Church of Christ.

Rev. William Sloan Coffin, senior minister, Riverside Church, NY.

Rep. George W. Crockett, Jr. [D-MI].

Angela Y. Davis, co-chair, NAARPR.

Cathern Davis, Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW), a founder of NAARPR and NAIMSAL.

Jennifer Davis, executive director, ACOA.

Ossie Davis.

Ruby Dee.

Ronald V. Dellums [D-CA], a founder sponsor of the USPC.

Bishop Jesse DeWitt, United Methodist Church.

Frank Durkan, Esq., chair, American Irish Unity Committee.

Robert Farrell, Los Angeles City Council member.

Fr. David Garcia, rector, St. Marks-in-the-Bowery Church, NY; a founding USPC sponsor.

Victor Goode, national director, NCBL; a founding USPC sponsor.

Carlton Goodlett, WPC presidential committee, identified CPUSA member.

Saundra Graham, "Massachusetts Black Legislative & State Representative," and member of the WPC presidential committee.

Bishop Thomas J. Gumbleton, Archdiocese of Detroit.

Charles Hayes, International Vice-President, United Food and Commercial Workers and an identified CPUSA member.

Lennox Hinds, NCBL.

Dorothy I. Height, president, National Council of Negro Women.

Abdeen Jabara, Detroit, co-chair of the NLG International Committee's Middle East Subcommittee.

Leonard Jeffries, chair, Black Studies Dept., CCNY.

Coretta Scott King.

William Lucy, chair, Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU).

Sr. Barbara Lupo, Clergy and Laity Concerned (CALC).

Gay McDougal, Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law (LCCRUL) Southern Africa Project.

Leila McDowell-Head, national coordinator, National Alliance of Third World Journalists.

Leith Mullins, Columbia University Teachers College, a founding sponsor of NAIMSAL, chairwoman of the Continuations Committee for the 10th World Youth Festival.

Rev. Timothy P. Mitchell, Ebenezer Baptist Church, NY.

Eugene "Gus" Newport, Mayor, Berkeley, CA.

Jack O'Dell, Operation PUSH, a founding sponsor of the USPC, and an identified CPUSA member.

Paul O'Dwyer.

Lu Palmer, chair, Chicago Black United Communities.

David P. Richardson, Pennsylvania State Representative and participant on the USPC founding.

Cleveland Robinson, secretary-treasurer, District 65, UAW.

Randall Robinson, TransAfrica.

Helen Rodriguez-Trias, M.D.

Harold Rogers, CBTU and a founding sponsor of NAIMSAL.

Archie Singham, Brooklyn College, a founding sponsor of the USPC and member of the editorial board of *The Nation*.

Melba Smith, Women's Division, Board of Global Ministries, United Methodist Church.

Timothy P. Smith, executive director, Interfaith Center for Corporate Responsibility (ICCR).

Junius Williams, National Bar Association and 1968 roommate and aide to SNCC leader Phil Hutchings in Newark, NJ.

# Postscript

By Ambassador Marion Smoak

Both Namibia and South Africa are vital to the strategic interests of the United States and the Free World. This stems both from their geographic location along the shipping routes traveled by the tankers and freighters bringing oil and vital raw materials from the Indian Ocean into the South Atlantic, and from the strategic mineral resources produced by Namibia and South Africa themselves.

It is for these reasons that both countries have been targeted by the Soviet Union for destabilization and takeover via the USSR's revolutionary terrorist surrogates, the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa and the Southwest Africa People's Organization (SWAPO).

The Soviet Union made tremendous advances in Africa during the 1970s, adding not only Angola, but also the Congo, Ethiopia and Mozambique. The Soviet drive against Namibia and South Africa is evidenced by the fact that recently Cuban instructors for SWAPO cadre have been replaced by Soviet Red Army officers, and ANC members continue to receive advanced terrorist training in the USSR itself.

The Western allies must draw a firm line across southern Africa and make a stand to stop further expansion of the Soviet empire in Africa. Without freedom and security, and a demonstration that the United States stands by Free World allies against the Kremlin and its henchmen, we will see only a continuing loss of freedom in Africa.

Ambassador Smoak is the Former Chief of Protocol of the United States State Department.

# Appendix

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

April 28, 1975

### RADICAL INTEREST IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

HON. LARRY McDONALD

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 28, 1975

Mr. McDONALD of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, for some years, foreign terrorist organizations have been sending representatives to this country to develop both propaganda campaigns and programs of "concrete" support—usually money for guns and supplies. In many instances, these terrorist travellers have been Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries covertly armed, trained, and directed by the Soviet Union or Red China.

Presenting themselves to Americans as "freedom fighters for national liberation," and always as the "legitimate representatives of the people," propaganda terms of little objective reality, these revolutionary spokesmen have worked at organizing pressure campaigns by American "progressive" leaders and institutions.

Among the most popular revolutionary guerrilla groups with U.S. "progressives" and liberals are the Soviet-financed African National Congress—ANC—of South Africa and the Southwest Africa People's Organization—SWAPO. The two organizations in the United States most devoted to advancing their cause have been the American Committee on Africa—ACOA—and the National Council of Churches—NCC.

On Wednesday, April 23, 1975, NCC's local Council of Churches of Greater Washington sponsored a "Community Hearing on U.S. Corporations and Apartheid" in the District of Columbia City Council chambers. The published handbills advertising the "hearings" listed some 50 cosponsors, members of the "hearing" panel and "witnesses."

The persons involved with the "Community Hearing" include many with long records of dedicated service to the cause

of the ANC, SWAPO, and other Russian sponsored guerrilla groups in Southern Africa. For the information of my colleagues, I attach the list of cosponsors and participants, together with background information wherever appropriate:

COSPONSORS, COMMUNITY HEARING, U.S. CORPORATIONS, AND APARTHEID

Rev. Harry Applewhite, Area Conference Minister, United Church of Christ Potomac Association; served as a delegate from the UCC to the Communist Party, U.S.A.-Dominated "peace front," the New Mobilization Committee and its successor, the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ).

Richard J. Barnet, Institute for Policy Studies; the New Left "think tank" which has "dedicated itself to ushering in the new society by inquiry and experimentation [and] is also doing what it can to hasten the demise of the present one." Barnet, a founder of IPS and its co-director, is a graduate of Harvard Law School and has been a member of the National Lawyers Guild. Barnet worked for the U.S. Department of State and for the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency in the early 1960's, before joining with Marcus Raskin, one of those who drafted the legislation setting up the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, to found IPS. Barnet has been a supporter of many pro-North Vietnam "antiwar" activities, and was a visitor to Hanoi in 1969. A member of the elite Council on Foreign Relations, Barnet and the IPS apparatus serve as important links between the liberal detente establishment and the Leninist factions of the old and New Lefts.

Marion Barry, D.C. City Council; Mr. Barry, then a chemistry student at Fisk University in Tennessee, was the first national chairman of the militant Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in 1960; he has supported various "antiwar" actions by the PCPJ and other "peace" groups.

Josephine Butler, D.C. Statehood Party; participated in the opening of the CPUSA's Cabral/Tubman Center in Washington, D.C. in 1974, and has been active in the "antiwar" movement.

Charles Cassell, Chairman, OPEN [Organization for Political Equality Now]; formerly head of the D.C. Statehood Party, an affiliate of the avowedly socialist People's Party which in turn was founded by IPS and CPUSA as an antiwar tactical vehicle.

Benjamin Chavis, Director, UCC Commission for Racial Justice, Washington Office; an executive of the CPUSA's National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression (NAARPR).

David Clark, D.C. City Council.

Charles Cobb, Sr., United Church of Christ Commission for Racial Justice; and a sponsor

of a 1974 NAARPR mass march in Raleigh, N.C.

Courtland Cox, S.A. Project, Center for National Security Studies; a former member of the Central Committee of SNCC and member of the Bertrand Russell International War Crimes Tribunal, associate of SNCC leader Ralph Featherstone, killed in 1970 by the bomb he was holding, and an organizer for the North American contingent at the 6th Pan-African Congress in Tanzania in 1974, a meeting dedicated to "smashing imperialism" and socialism. The Center for National Security Studies, an IPS and Fund for Peace spin-off, was described on pages E-585 to 586 in the Congressional Record of February 20, 1975.

William Davis, Director, National Jesuit Conference.

Rev. Carl Dianda, St. Teresa's Church.

Rev. David Eaton, All Souls Unitarian Church; well-known militant "peace activist" in the Metropolitan Washington area.

Gretchen Eick, Chairperson, United Church of Christ South Africa Task Force.

Dr. Therman Evans, D.C. School Board. Hon. Walter Fauntroy, U.S. Congress [D.C. Delegate].

Ed Guinan, Community for Creative Non-Violence; a militant group of "Catholic leftists" associated with Philip and Elizabeth McAllister Berrigan who have been involved in various sit-in protests at the White House during the past two years.

Sr. Charlotte Hanson, Vice President, D.C. Council of Women Religious.

Thomas Hargrave, General Executive, YMCA of Metropolitian Washington.

Roy Johnson, Chairman, GUARD [Government Employees United Against Racial Discrimination].

Eloise Jones, Chairman, Downtown Cluster of Congregations.

John Jones, Acting Executive Director, Adams Morgan Organization.

William Jones, Black Vote Coalition.

Fr. Raymond Kemp, D.C. School Board.

Msgr. Ralph Kuehner, Director, Office of Social Development, D.C. Archdiocese.

Edgar "Ted" Lockwood, Director, Washington Office on Africa; WOA is the lobbying office for the American Committee on Africa (ACOA). Lockwood is a former leader of Episcopal Churchmen for South Africa who once wrote to *Ramparts* magazine stating he was a liberal, no doubt in case he was mistaken for something else. A member of the board of the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS), Lockwood also serves on ACOA's executive board where two other IPS policy makers, Arthur I. Waskow and Ivanhoe Donaldson, also have served. Lockwood was associated with the Redress antiwar action in the U.S. Capitol; he is a trustee of two other radical/liberal organizations promoting detente, disarmament and a new world order, the Council on Economic Priorities (CEP) and the Center for the Study of Peace and Power (CSPP). Lockwood is a member of the stridently pro-guerrilla *Southern Africa* magazine collective.

Francis Kornegay, Jr., Washington Task Force on African Affairs.

Melvin A. McCaw, Director, African American Institute, Washington office.

Rev. Douglas Moore, D.C. City Council; Rev. Jerry Moore, D.C. City Council; Virginia Morris, President, D.C. School Board.

Fr. John Mudd, Assistant Director, Office of Social Improvement, D.C. Archdiocese.

Mary Jane Patterson, Acting Director, United Presbyterian Church, USA Washington Office.

Jeremy Rifkin, Coordinator, People's Bicentennial Commission; an activist in publicizing alleged U.S. "atrocities" in South Vietnam who now heads PBC, a slick Marxist revolutionary public relations outfit which aims at perverting the ideological underpinnings of American independence.

William Sanders, D.C. Black Assembly.

William Simon, President, D.C. Teachers Union; and a sponsor of numerous pro-North Vietnamese "peace" rallies organized by both CPUSA and Trotskyist communist front groups.

Sam Smith, Editor, *D.C. Gazette*; an "alternate" newspaper originally organized via the Institute for Policy Studies.

Sterling Tucker, Chairman, D.C. City Council.

Dr. Ronald Walter, Howard University and the African Heritage Studies Association.

Fr. William Wendt, St. Stephen and the Incarnation Church; an antiwar activist who has opened his church as a meeting place for radical and revolutionary groups for many years.

John Wilson, D.C. City Council.

Nadine Winter, D.C. City Council.

Fr. Jack Wintermeyer, Newman Center,

George Washington University.

The members of the "hearing" panel were listed as including:

Rev. Robert Pruitt, Panel Chairperson.

Goler Butcher, attorney; in February, 1974, the *Daily World* reported that Miss Butcher, "counselor and legislative assistant for the House Subcommittee on Africa, chaired by Rep. Charles C. Diggs," spoke at an Evening Tribute to Amilcar Cabral" sponsored by the D.C. chapter of CPUSA's National Anti-Imperialist Movement in Solidarity with African Liberation (NAMISAL). Cabral was the Marxist-Leninist founder of the PAIGC guerrillas, now granted control of Guinea-Bissau by the Portuguese revolutionary junta.

James Coates, D.C. City Council.

Charles Cobb, Jr., WHUR-FM; a SNCC activist and with Ralph Featherstone a founder of the Drum and Spear Bookstore whose Tanzanian branch was active in the organizing of the 6th Pan African Congress held in Dar-es-Salaam last July. Cobb was reportedly a member of Rep. Diggs' staff during 1974.

Ivanhoe Donaldson, rep. for Marion Barry; while head of the New York City branch of SNCC in 1966, Donaldson accompanied Stokely Carmichael to Puerto Rico where they both participated in violent demonstrations leading to riots with the Castroite Movimiento Pro Independencia, now called the Puerto Rican Socialist Party. Donaldson has been a fellow at the Institute for Policy Studies for several years and was one of the principal organizers of the National Black Political Convention. He has also been a board member of the American Committee

on Africa.

Rev. David Eaton.

Sr. Charlotte Hannon.

Roy Johnson.

Virginia Morris.

William Simon.

Dr. Ronald Walters, Chairman, Political Sci., Howard University.

Those scheduled to testify at the "Community Hearings" included:

Judge William Booth, President, American Committee on Africa; a New York City Criminal Court Judge and former chairman of the NYC Human Relations Commission who replaced National Lawyers Guild activist Peter Weiss as head of ACOA.

Yvonne Reed Chapelle, Special Assistant to Congressman Charles Diggs.

Jennifer Davis, exiled South Africa economist; a member of the *Southern Africa* magazine collective and director of research for ACOA.

Tim Smith, Director, Church Project on U.S. Investment in South Africa; a Canadian educated at the University of Toronto (B.A. 1966) Smith's interest in African matters began in 1966 when he was sent to Kenya by Operation Crossroads Africa, of whose board of directors he was a member in 1970. While attending Union Theological Seminary, he served on the Southern Africa Committee of the University Christian Movement (UCM), the "Christian new left". Smith remains a member of the collective of the militantly pro-guerrilla *Southern Africa* magazine published monthly by the Southern Africa Committee. Smith has held executive posts with the Committee for a Free Mozambique, a support group for the Marxist-Leninist FRELIMO guerrillas; with the Church Project on U.S. Investments in Southern Africa; with the Interfaith Committee on Social Responsibility in Investments; the United Church of Christ Council for Christian Social Action. Smith has been a consultant for the Council on Economic Priorities and a board member of the ACOA.

Mary Jane Patterson.

Dr. Ben Magubane, African National Congress, South Africa liberation movement; the ANC is a Marxist-Leninist organization controlled by the Soviet Union. In 1961, under the direction of the South African Communist Party, ANC formed a terrorist commando known as Spear of the Nation. Illegal in South Africa, ANC acts primarily as an exile agitational organization.

Roger Wheeler, Control Data Corporation. [The program noted that representatives from IBM, ITT & Motorola also had been invited to attend].

September 9, 1977

AMERICAN COMMITTEE ON AFRICA:  
TRANSNATIONAL SUPPORT FOR  
TERRORISM

HON. LARRY McDONALD

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 9, 1977

Mr. McDONALD. Mr. Speaker, the American Committee on Africa (ACOA) has for more than two decades served as the principal U.S. support group for Marxist terrorist movements on the African continent. The beneficiaries of ACOA money and organizational expertise have ranged from the Algerian National Liberation Front through the MPLA and FRELIMO organizations which now control Angola and Mozambique to the so-called Patriotic Front in Rhodesia whose principal victims have been black Rhodesian civilians.

The American Committee on Africa provided my office with an 11-page booklet, "Meeting Africa's Challenge: The Story of the American Committee on Africa," written by George M. Houser, executive director of ACOA since its creation.

Available from ACOA, 305 E. 46th Street, New York, N.Y. 10017 [212/838-5030], the ACOA booklet details how impetus for formation of ACOA and its predecessor came from the African National Congress (ANC), an organization controlled by the South African Communist Party (SACP) which under SACP leadership a few years later commenced an active nad continuing terrorist campaign against South African civilians.

According to ACOA's executive director and historian, impetus for the organization of ACOA came from the London meetings in 1951 of U.S. black activist Bill Sutherland with the editor of the ANC newspaper, African World, who told Sutherland about the planned "Defiance Campaign" in South Africa then being organized by the SACP through its racial fronts, the ANC and the South African Indian Congress.

At that time Houser was race relations secretary of the socialist-pacifist Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR) and executive secretary of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and had worked with Sutherland in the disarmament movement being coordinated by the Soviet-controlled World Peace Council (WPC). After his return to the United States, Sutherland approached Houser with the news of the planned ANC campaign. Then, as Houser has written:

We wrote to Walter Sisulu, the secretary general of the African National Congress, and Y. A. Cachalia of the South African Indian Congress \* \* \*. They responded eagerly, and in New York we decided to set up an ad hoc organization, which we called Americans for South African Resistance, in support of this campaign.

Almost simultaneously with the commencement of the SACP and ANC-led Defiance Campaign on June 26, 1952, Z. K. Matthews, head of ANC's Cape branch, arrived in New York as a visiting professor of world Christianity at Union Theological Seminary. The New York based ANC leader was kept constantly informed of progress being made at home. Houser continued:

Armed with this information, Americans for South African Resistance (AFSAR) issued a series of bulletins. \* \* \* Over the six months that the campaign proceeded (with over nine thousand arrests), AFSAR \* \* \* raised several thousand dollars which, through Z. K. Matthews, was sent to the ANC.

Houser also admitted that AFSAR's purpose in preparing the bulletins based on ANC leader Matthews' information was not nonpartisan education but an effort to spread the word on what we in the United States could do to support the campaign.

Following the collapse of the defiance campaign early in 1953, AFSAR had to reassess its purpose. Its leaders felt it should broaden its role to support of the coming challenge to imperialism and colonialism.

It is noted that cofounder Sutherland, now 59 and active during the 1940's in the New York CORE chapter, moved to Africa in 1953 where he worked for the Ghanaian Government. In association with the aging Pan-African theoretician, George Padmore, Sutherland aided in organizing the 1958 All African Peoples Conference in Accra which was attended by young Soviet-aligned militants like Patrice Lumumba and Joshua Nkomo; Kenneth Kaunda, now President of Zambia; leaders of the ANC from South Africa and representatives of the FLN then in process of waging a successful terrorist protracted conflict against France in Algeria.

From 1963 to 1975, Sutherland was an employee of the Government of Tanzania's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, reported Bilalian News, the newspaper of the militant and violence-prone nation of Islam, and was involved in the organizing of the June 1974 Sixth Pan-African Congress in Dar-es-Salaam. According to the Baltimore Afro-American, the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), a socialist-pacifist organization

which has consistently supported terrorist armed struggle by the Soviet-supported Marxist national liberation movements like the Vietcong, Khmer Rouge, Pathet Lao, and southern African organizations, hired Sutherland in December 1974 as its southern African representative. On his 1976 U.S. speaking tour for AFSC, Sutherland described his AFSC post as observer-consultant in Lusaka, where he moved. He said he left the United States in 1953 to become part of Africa's struggle and that he now considers Africa his home and has applied for citizenship. He did not specify what country's citizenship he was seeking.

During the month of August 1977, Sutherland led a 16-member delegation from the AFSC on a tour of the front-line states in Africa to "build relationships with the opponents of the status quo in Southern Africa, particularly the liberation movements."

George Houser himself traveled to Africa in 1954 to make direct contact with leaders of fledgling liberation movements. He returned to Africa in 1958 to lead an ACOA observer delegation at the All African Peoples Conference where the Algerian FLN was also in attendance. As Houser has written, the ACOA soon became an active U.S. voice and support group for the liberation movements and their representatives in the United States. Many movements responded by seeking assistance in unexpected ways which he defined as including the smuggling of political communiques in hollowed-out books for ACOA to take to the United Nations on behalf of the liberation group.

Supporting terrorism—violent acts against the civilian segment of the population for the purpose of intimidation in order to attain a political or military goal—evidently has never disturbed the American Committee on Africa. According to Executive Secretary Houser, from 1955 to 1962 the ACOA priority was the FLN terrorists in Algeria.

ACOA worked closely with \* \* \* the FLN representatives in New York and at the UN. Numerous public meetings were sponsored to call attention to the Algerian struggle and to condemn the support the US was giving France.

Houser is also pleased to recall that ACOA was the first to display the flag of FLN's Provisional Government at public meetings in New York.

ACOA's main role has been the provision of logistical support, money, and organizational skills so that the terrorist groups could maintain offices in the United States and at the United Nations, so that their statements and position papers could be distributed in the United

States to key organizers and the press, and to arrange speaking tours and personal appearances so that the revolutionary leaders could present their cause directly to the American people.

In Houser's own words:

There is not a major liberation movement in southern Africa which has not received some support from ACOA. Much of this has been done through the Africa Defense and Aid Fund. Sometimes the assistance given is to cover the emergency needs of visitors to New York at the U.N., or to liberation movement leaders traveling in the U.S. It may help with travel expenses, accommodations, telephone bills, etc.

He continued:

In the case of some of the liberation movements, notably FRELIMO, ACOA has taken major responsibility for raising the funds to make it possible for the organization to have an office and a full-time representative here.

Houser reports that ACOA's logistical support work has included supplying jeeps, land rovers, Volkswagen buses for the use of liberation movements in Africa. The amount spent, he writes, has varied from 1 year to another but has usually been between \$10,000 and \$35,000. The Africa Defense and Aid Fund, a part of the committee, has been the principal conduit.

ACOA's aid to liberation movements has not included generous assistance to non-Communist or anti-Communist forces. And following the Sino-Soviet split in the mid-1960's, the ACOA firmly supported the Soviet-sponsored terrorist group over the Peking-backed one unless both were recognized by the Organization of African Unity. Even so, the majority of the support went to the Soviet-supported terrorists.

For example, the UNITA forces which are nationalist and which control a significant amount of territory in southern Angola was not recognized by the OAU and therefore not supported to any real extent by ACOA. The Communist Chinese supported FNLA organization led by Czech-trained Holden Roberto received some minimal assistance; but as Houser noted, "In the case of Angola, a lengthy discussion was held in 1970, and the decision was to recognize the primacy of the MPLA at that time."

ACOA has never had a policy of cutting off contact with a liberation movement said Houser, implying that it could well have unwritten, informal policies to the same end; but this has not implied willingness to assist all movements.

A major proportion of ACOA's work has been pressuring Congress on behalf of the terrorist movements. Houser describes ACOA's Capitol Hill activities in these terms:

Implementation of ACOA policy has fre-

quently centered in Washington. The ACOA has consistently opposed U.S. policies supportive of white minority rule. ACOA representatives have appeared innumerable times before the appropriate Senate and House committees in Washington. Statements by the ACOA on legislative objectives have been varied: U.S. policy in the Congo, refugee questions, an end to the sugar quota to South Africa, stopping military aid to Portugal and South Africa, opposition to the Byrd Amendment (allowing strategic materials to come in from Rhodesia), an end to intervention in Angola. The committee has maintained a working relationship, first, with late Congressman Barrett O'Hara of Illinois and later with Charles Diggs of Michigan, who have been the two very active chairmen of the House Subcommittee on Africa.

Houser goes on to describe the operation of the Washington Office on Africa (WOA):

Not until 1967 did ACOA establish part-time representation on the Washington scene. A full-time office was opened in 1968, with Gary Gappert as the representative. He was succeeded by Charles Hightower. In 1972 the ACOA's Washington office was transformed into the independent, jointly-sponsored Washington Office on Africa, with Ted Lockwood and Chris Root as the executive staff. Funds for ACOA's office had come primarily through contributions of three or four church organizations. These churches (Methodist, Presbyterian, United Church of Christ, and Episcopalian) finally decided they would like to participate more actively on African issues in Washington. Thus the Washington Office on Africa became a jointly-sponsored effort between ACOA and church groups. The Washington Office has been increasingly effective in coordinating work on southern African issues in Congress. A major effort from 1972 to 1975 was devoted to stopping import of chrome and other minerals from Rhodesia. The campaign has gained strength, in spite of a lackadaisical attitude by the White House, but has not yet been won.

ACOA's testimony before committees of the House and Senate began in April, 1962, with testimony prepared by ACOA's 1961-71 president, attorney Peter Weiss, in opposition to the independence of Katanga. It has continued with opposition to any U.S. aid to anti-Moscow movements in Angola after the introduction of Cuban troops. The ACOA line on the MPLA is that they are an "independent force which would not be dominated by any outside power, including the Soviet Union."

Although not principally a legal action organization, ACOA has supported U.S. litigation and defense efforts in southern Africa starting with the 1956-59 treason trials of SACP and ANC members in South Africa for which ACOA raised some \$75,000 and sent Erwin Griswold, then dean of Harvard Law School, to South Africa as an observer—but not

making public the ACOA sponsorship for obvious reasons.

ACOA lawyers and board members including Peter Weiss of the National Lawyers Guild (NLG) and Center for Constitutional Rights, Mrs. Goler Teal Butcher, former counsel to the Diggs Subcommittee on Africa and Africa policy strategist to the Carter Presidential campaign; as well as Douglas Wachholz of the Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law (LCCRUL), Leonard Meeker of the Naderite Center for Law and Social Policy, and exiled South African attorneys Joel Carlson and Michael Davis have been active in anti-South African legal cases in the last 2 years.

It is noted that another ACOA Executive Board member, Frederick A. O. Schwarz, Jr., took a leave of absence from ACOA to become chief counsel to Senator Church's Senate Select Committee on Intelligence. F. A. O. Schwarz, Jr., in 1969 was treasurer of the American Committee on Africa. Houser, who exchanged correspondence with the Soviet-supported Patrice Lumumba from 1958 until shortly before his assassination in 1960, has commented that "Senator Frank Church's committee investigating covert [U.S.] intelligence activities \*\*\* revealed [that] in 1957 [3 years before a rival Congolese political faction killed him] that the CIA not only opposed Lumumba but actually laid plans for his murder." Houser prefers to leave the impression that the contingency plans which were not carried out caused the assassination of the Congolese leftist months later. Neither does he discuss any possible special interest in the Congo on the part of committee counsel Schwarz.

While the ACOA's political lobbying activities disqualify it from receiving tax exempt status—ACOA dropped its application in the early 1960's when IRS specified in a 7-page letter that there was no chance for approval—ACOA set up a closely associated tax-exempt organization, The Africa Fund, in 1966 through which "programs for refugee assistance, for aid to hospitals and schools in liberated areas of Guinea-Bissau, Angola and Mozambique have been carried on."

The Africa Fund grants in 1975 included \$39,165 to the Mozambique Institute, P.O. Box 20773, Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania, described as "the primary fund-raising and technical assistance agency which helps finance and assist the educational, medical, economic, and social services of the Mozambican people." All schools and medical facilities, including those established and formerly operated by the churches, have been nationalized by the Marxist-Leninist Government of Mozambique.

The Africa Fund's executive secretary and paid staff head is George Houser. Officers and trustees, who meet rarely and with scarcely a quorum, include chairman: Frank C. Montero, executive vice-president, Tishman Realty and Construction Co., New York, N.Y.; vice-chairman: Edler G. Hawkins, Princeton Theological Seminary; treasurer: Andrew E. Norman, president, Chelsea House Publish-

ers; Issac Bivens, assistant general secretary for Africa of the Board of Global Ministries of the United Methodist Church; Jacob Clayman, director of the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department; John L. S. Holloman, president, Health and Hospital Corp. of the city of New York; Sophia Yarnall Jacobs, former chairperson of the New York Urban League; William B. Landis, a partner in the law firm of Mudge, Rose, Guthrie, and Alexander; Jan S. F. van Hoogstraten, director of material resources of the Church World Service of the National Council of the Churches of Christ; and Peter Weiss of the Center for Constitutional Rights and the law firm Weiss, David, Fross & Lehrman.

The Africa Fund describes itself as an "organization helping Africans work against the injustices of colonial and white minority domination." Its goals are "Providing financial help for clinics and hospitals in liberated areas; providing assistance for schools and training institutes; providing legal assistance for those who have challenged minority rule and apartheid; [and] engaging in nonpartisan study, research and analysis of basic questions related to Africa and making the results available to the public."

In light of the "nonpartisan study, research and analysis" provision, it is noted that in 1975 the Africa Fund began preparation of "a thorough study of South Africa's military capacity and new developments."

The most recent figures for Africa Fund income and expenses (1975) list contributions from direct mail solicitation of only \$15,100; literature sales of \$2,881; interest income of \$1,482; and from "Foundations and Private Sources" of \$122,385. Reportedly the largest benefactors of the Africa Fund for many years has been the Samuel Rubin Foundation established by Peter Weiss' father-in-law, former Faberge magnate Sam Rubin. Officers of the foundation include Cora Weiss, Sam Rubin's daughter; her husband Peter Weiss; Reed Rubin, her brother named after writer and American Communist John Reed who is buried in the Kremlin wall; and Sam Rubin.

The Samuel Rubin Foundation has formed the principal financial base of the Institute for Policy Studies, of which Peter Weiss is the leading trustee, and for its Transnational Institute. A number of IPS staff have served on the ACOA executive committee.

The Africa Fund's 1975 expenses were listed as including: Mozambique Institute—\$39,165; Guinea-Bissau—\$10,000; refugee aid—\$3,480; student assistance—\$5,437; research staff—\$25,941; travel—\$7,431; literature—\$3,928; personnel—\$14,548; overhead expenses paid ACOA—\$16,917; printing, postage and inserting—\$8,990; fund raising—\$6,000; and miscellaneous expenses of \$6,576.

The Africa Fund's 1975 total income was \$141,858. With total expenses of \$148,413, there was an excess of expenses of \$6,555. Cash assets on December 31, 1975 totaled some \$27,000. The Africa Fund's 1974 income was \$62,738; but expenses were \$102,494 which left a 1974 deficit of \$39,756. In 1975 most of ACOA's expenses for research and literature distribution were taken over by the Africa Fund. ACOA's 1975 budget was just under \$100,000 with that adjustment in "research" costs.

The American Committee on Africa's Executive Board as of January 1977, included (\* indicates members of the Steering Committee):

\* President: Hon. William H. Booth, Judge, Supreme Court of the State of New York, Brooklyn, NY.

\* Vice-President: Elizabeth Landis, consultant to the Office of the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia, NY.

\* Vice-President, David Robinson, Professor of African History, Yale University, CT.

\* Treasurer, Jay Jacobson, attorney, Saxon Industries, New York, N.Y.

\* Secretary, Dorothy Hibbert, Principal, Community School 146, Bronx, N.Y.

Elombe Brath, Consultant to the Graphic Arts Department, WABC-TV, New York and producer of its black public affairs show, "Like It Is."

Marshall Brown, Chairman, Department of Health Education, Essex College, Newark, NJ; active in sports and civil rights.

\* Robert Browne, a founding ACOA member now director of the Black Economic Research Center, NY.

Goler Teal Butcher, former chief counsel to the House Subcommittee on Africa, and Carter Campaign adviser, is now Deputy Assistant AID Administrator for Africa.

Elsie Carrington, Director, Community Participation Education Program, New York, NY.

\* George Daniels, Director, Interpretation Services, Board of Global Ministries of the United Methodist Church, NY.

Michael Davis, attorney with the Center for Constitutional Rights and the firm of Rogers, Hoge & Hill; Southern Africa Collective (SAC).

Moe Foner, Executive secretary, District 1199 of the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees, long a Communist Party, U.S.A.-dominated union.

Collins Gonze, Assistant Director, Department of International Affairs, United Auto Workers (UAW), Washington, DC.

Lawrence Henderson, Regional Secretary for Latin America and Africa, Board for World Ministries of the United Church of Christ, New York, NY.

\* Janet Hooper, Former editor of Southern Africa magazine and continuing member of the Southern Africa Collective.

Leonard Jeffries, Chairman, Department of Black and Puerto Rican Studies, City College, City University of New York.

William Johnson, President, Episcopal Churchmen for South Africa, NY; member of Southern Africa Collective.

David Lampel, Director of the News Department of black-oriented radio station WLIR in New York.

\* Tilden LeMelle, Chairman, Department of Black and Puerto Rican Studies, Hunter College, CUNY.

Edgar "Ted" Lockwood, Director of the Washington Office on Africa (WOA); member of the Southern Africa Collective.

Oseye McHawi, Organizer, Committee to Aid African Independence, Brooklyn, NY.

Gail Morlan, former president of the Southern Africa Committee and member of the magazine collective.

\* Andrew Norman, President, Chelsea House Publishers, NY.; the Norman Fund, Inc.

Frederick A. O. Schwarz, Jr., Chief Counsel, Senate Select Committee on Intelligence.

Adelaide Schulkind, retired director of the League for Mutual Aid, New York, NY.

Herbert Shore, Consultant to the Smithsonian Institute and to the U.S. Commission of UNESCO; author of a biography of the founder of the FRELIMO, Eduardo Mondlane; co-author with Houser of an ACOA/Africa Fund booklet on FRELIMO in 1975.

Timothy Smith, director of the Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility which coordinates economic attacks on southern Africa.

Robert VanLierop, self-described Marxist lawyer who has made films extolling the FRELIMO; organizer of the Committee for a Free Mozambique and the Africa Information Service.

The American Committee on Africa has had continuing associations with overt members of U.S. revolutionary groups ranging from the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), through militant Trotskyite and New Left sects. In the late 1960's, CPUSA member Blyden Jackson was perhaps ACOA's most active office staff member. Jackson's duties included organizing street demonstrations from the ACOA office against South African visiting dignitaries.

The executive associate to George Houser on the ACOA staff is Paul Irish, formerly Tim Smith's assistant at the Interfaith Center for Corporate Responsibility. In June 1975, Paul Irish was the ACOA representative at the FRELIMO's independence ceremonies in Maputo. In discussions with FRELIMO officials, Irish reviewed ACOA's aid programs and where the new Marxist-Leninist regime wanted the funds to go. It is noted that at a conference in New York State earlier this year, FRELIMO representatives stated that all aid programs would have to be directed by the FRELIMO regime, not by any private or religious agency.

Paul Irish is a member of a militant Trotskyite group, the International Socialists (IS), and spoke as an IS representative on The Liberation of southern Africa along with Tapson Mawere, the principal U.S. representative of the Maoist terrorist ZANU organization, in Boston last fall. The British affiliate of IS, the Socialist Workers Party, has been involved in violent street riots over racial issues in recent weeks.

ACOA works closely with, and recommends highly, the Southern Africa Committee (SAC), Room 707, 156 5th Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10010, formed in 1967 as a power structure research group concentrating on Africa. The Southern Africa Committee can be considered a parallel group to the North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA) and the Pacific Studies Center in economic and political research designed to benefit anti-imperialist political and armed struggle movements. The SAC continues to publish Southern Africa, a major outlet for statements, literature and position papers from the Soviet-backed terrorist movements and new Marxist-Leninist governments now controlling the former Portuguese territories. A 3-month trial subscription costs \$1.

The SAC's attorneys, Peter Weiss and Michael I. Davis of the ACOA and Center

for Constitutional Rights demanded the FBI files on the Southern Africa Committee under the Freedom of Information Act. When the file was denied on grounds that the FBI had begun an investigation of the SAC at the request of the Justice Department to find out whether the SAC was in violation of the Foreign Agents Registration Act. The investigation had begun in March 1975; in November 1975 the SAC filed suit demanding the FBI, and the Justice Department, release all files relating to the SAC.

The investigation was ended in December 1976, and subsequently all files, reports the Center for Constitutional Rights, have been handed over. The Criminal Division of the Justice Department remains "interested in receiving any additional information which \* \* \* may indicate that the subject organization has an obligation to register \* \* \*."

The Southern Africa Committee has made a great deal of use of an excerpt of an FBI document which states that "investigation of the SAC since 1971 has failed to uncover any act of violence or terror on the part of the SAC in the United States."

The SAC does not find it useful to its purposes to mention that its members have had ties to the Cuban Government and that a considerable number have traveled to Cuba on various pretexts. The SAC also does not mention that Cuban military and political advisers have been working with the Soviet-backed terrorist movements in Portuguese Africa—Guinea-Bissau, Angola, and Mozambique—since the mid-1960's in line with Castro's Tricontinental of Third World subversion. The SAC did not mention that the Cubans have the responsibility of coordinating New Left support activities for the new revolutionary governments in Angola, Guinea-Bissau, and Mozambique as evidenced by the Havana Solidarity Conference in which personnel of the Cuban U.N. Mission selected the U.S. delegates and organized the meetings.

SAC has made much less use of another recent FBI report:

[The Southern Africa Committee] takes a pro-terrorist position in such countries as the Republic of South Africa, Rhodesia and South West Africa. \* \* \* Collective members have made occasional trips to Africa to meet with terrorist activists. Committee organizers are also related to such groups as the American Committee on Africa \* \* \* whose members are also reported to be in contact with so-called liberation movement workers.

\* \* \* The SAC is comprised of approximately 40 members in the New York area who agitate in favor of black terrorists in Africa. \* \* \* The Committee has supported terrorism in Africa for over ten years and now has a strong relationship to Guinea-Bissau, a member of the U.N. \* \* \*. Money could be coming from this state, as well as Cape Verde, Mozambique and perhaps

other black countries \* \* \* who seem to value their propaganda contributions to the terrorist cause. \* \* \* The Committee is one of a network of groups which provide much support, both propaganda and material, to the subversive forces \* \* \* in and of Africa.

Members of the Southern Africa Collective of the SAC in 1977 include Barbara Barnes; Carole Benglesdorf; Wes Cohen; Paddy Colligan of the Workers World Party (WWP); Jennifer Davis, a South African, the director of research for the ACOA, and frequent supplier of testimony to Congress; Michael Davis; Charlie Ebel; Mimi Edmunds; Nancy Gear; Lynn Goodwin; Peggy Halsey; Janet Hooper; Tami Hultman; Paul Irish; Allen Isaacman; Bill Johnston; Marci Kerr; Richard Knight, a member of the ACOA staff; Reed Kramer; Richard Leonard; Carolyn Fleuer-Lobban, and Richard Lobban of Connecticut who write letters to and articles for the Daily World; Edgar Lockwood; Bill and Ruth Minter; Antonio Neves; Dipankar Ray; Susan Rogers; Christine Root; Karen Rothmeyer; Mike Shuster; Janet Siskind; Par Smith Louise Stack; Jinni and John Stroman; Stephanie Urdang; Roberta Washington; Jim Weikart and Leiza Zadel.

The activities of the American Committee on Africa and its related organizations demonstrate the existing loopholes in U.S. laws which enable tax-exempt funds to be channeled to terrorist groups, which permit groups which are de facto serving as foreign agents to evade the registration requirements which clearly need tightening, and in the Freedom of Information Act which enables organizations working with international terrorist groups to demand, and receive, the Federal investigatory files on them.

Clearly Congress needs an Internal Security Committee which would be able to investigate the extent of the problem, hold the necessary hearings, and develop new legislation to cope with this threat.

October 21, 1977

THE STEVE BIKO CASE: HAS OUR GOVERNMENT BACKED ANOTHER AFRICAN TERRORIST MOVEMENT?

HON. LARRY McDONALD

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 20, 1977

Mr. McDONALD. Mr. Speaker, on September 9, 1977, I provided my colleagues

with a report on the leading U.S. support groups for the Soviet-sponsored South African terrorist movements. Today it is appropriate to generally examine U.S. foreign policy toward South Africa and particularly the extensive support, assistance, and direction provided by apparently responsible U.S. organizations, both governmental and private, for black South African organizations which range from the "merely" militant to the terrorist.

A controversy has developed in this country over the death of Steve Biko, 30, while under detention by South African police last month. On September 28, 11 of our colleagues circulated a letter reflecting their concern over the death of Steve Biko. I hope that South Africa's judicial system will determine whether or not there was police malfeasance or misfeasance, but my colleagues' concern has also prompted me to look into the background to Biko's career.

Two South African revolutionary movements commenced terrorist campaigns in the early 1960's. These were the South African Communist Party-controlled African National Congress (ANC), and its ideological (Maoist/Pan-Africanist) and ethnic rival, the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC). The SACP/ANC terrorist cadre is called Umkonto We Sizwe which means "Spear of the Nation" in the Zulu language. The SACP/ANC also has a clandestine guerrilla support and courier group of whites called Okhela or "spark" in Zulu. "Spark" (Iskra) was the name of Lenin's newspaper. PAC drew its main strength from the Xhosa, the people of the Transkei.

PAC's Poqo terrorists—the word means "only" with the same connotation of "just us" that Ireland's Sinn Fein Republican movement has—were led by Potlako Leballo. Nelson Mandela, now serving a life prison term, headed ANC's Umkonto We Sizwe.

The ANC and PAC organizations and their terrorist programs were effectively suppressed within South Africa by 1964, being forced to operate primarily as exile groups with military bases in Zambia, Tanzania, and other African countries. There is evidence to indicate that during the mid to late 1960's, while the Soviet and Red Chinese-supported movements were in decline, segments of the U.S. Government, or at least certain factions within the Department of State and the Central Intelligence Agency, decided to assume sponsorship of some South African militants and promote their Marxist and racist goals while expecting to maintain some sort of influence with the extremists after they attained power.

Look at the parallel examples in Angola and currently in Rhodesia. In Angola the original revolutionary movement was the MPLA, formed in the early 1950's with Soviet backing. After building some support in Angolan labor organizations, MPLA moved into armed terrorism with white, black, and brown civilians their principal targets. When the Sino-Soviet dispute first reached serious levels about 1959, Maoist splits appeared in MPLA. The largest split was the FNLA group led by Holden Roberto, who started his career as a Soviet agent trained in Czechoslovakia.

In the late 1960's, FNLA was picked up additionally by the State Department and CIA as a potential counter-foil to the U.S.S.R.'s MPLA. FNLA's U.S. support did not lessen its ideological ties to Red China, as evidenced by the fact that following a 1973 Peking visit by FNLA leader Holden Roberto, the Chinese Communists agreed to equip and train an entire division for FNLA.

Nevertheless, the FNLA forces were no match for the 15,000 Cuban troops—now increased to over 18,000—imported by the Soviets to conquer Angola for the MPLA.

Seeing that there was no organized pro-Western political grouping in Angola to support, this Congress voted to cut off funding for the CIA and State Department support of FNLA. The question that did not come up in the floor debate was why had not the United States, during the past two decades of revolutionary terrorism in Angola, aided pro-Western, freedom-loving Angolans who could have developed a representative form of government?

In Rhodesia, an independent, pro-Western country which has been expanding its franchise, the United States has clearly put its support behind the terrorist coalition called the Patriotic Front. The so-called Patriotic Front is composed of the Maoist Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) and the Soviet-dominated Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU). The extent of State Department support for the Rhodesian terrorists is evidenced most strikingly in the massive purging of State Department intelligence files of information on terrorist movements, their leaders and members, so that no evidence is available for use in denying them U.S. entry visas. Early in August, 1977, entry visas were provided to a Patriotic Front delegation consisting of Joshua Nkomo, Daniel Madvimbamuto, Albert Mxele, Christopher Zenzo Nkovi, and one other person.

As far as the State Department is concerned, the facts of ZAPU's long record

for barbaric terrorism against the civilians of Rhodesia, the long and intimate association of ZAPU leaders with the Soviet and East German Governments and their intelligence and subversion apparatus, and Joshua Nkomo's activities as a leader of the Soviet's World Peace Council, a grossly misnamed terrorist support apparatus, were all subjects for purging.

Nkomo's activities during this August visit were varied most interestingly. On the one hand he made quiet contacts with U.S. Government officials, and on the other he linked up persons associated with KGB agent Orlando Letelier's influence apparatus to prepare pressure campaigns for a "final solution" of the existence of Rhodesia. Nkomo's repeatedly took the hard line calling for total control of all aspects of Rhodesian life, comparing the Rhodesian economic system of private ownership and its government with "cancer" to be uncompromisingly eradicated.

Some objective analysts who are joined in their opinions by recently retired government officials believe that the new administration's foreign policy is being directed by members of the same faction which originally promoted the U.S. support of some Third World Marxists. These analysts believe that the stage has been set for America's "voluntary" withdrawal as a world power, and that an arrangement is being developed in which the United States will withdraw from Asia—South Korea, the Philippines, Thailand, but not from Japan—and from most of Africa in return for tacit agreement from the Soviet Union that the Middle East should be a U.S. "sphere of influence"—provided the United States can arrange "termination" of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

This is believed to be a recent alternative to the sort of political program proposed by Zbigniew Brzezinski in his 1970 book, "Between Two Ages," and in his 1976 long essay, "America in a Hostile World," in which he wrote that "Nothing could be more destructive than for the United States to position itself as the ultimate shield of the remnants of white supremacy in Africa. This would rally all of Africa and much of Afro-Asia against us." Brzezinski's writings also propose that America seek leadership of the Third World by supporting its most extreme militants.

So in the 1960's a competition developed between the U.S. left-liberals and their faction in the State Department and CIA and the Communists for control of South African militants. The competition was expressed principally in rival programs to train the most militant

black students for leadership in a future South African state. These militants have generally made it plain that their state would also be racialist in that the large Indian, Asian, colored and white populations would be denied a political and economic voice.

During July of this year a young South African investigative journalist, Aida Parker, produced a startling series of articles in the Johannesburg newspaper, *The Citizen*. The 10-part exposé detailed how through a varied apparatus of conduits and fronts the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency has been developing its own Marxist and racist "national liberation" groups in South Africa.

Miss Parker's articles noted that groups which have been exposed over the years as CIA operations, particularly the World University Service—WUS—and the International University Exchange Fund—IUEF—had revealed covert U.S. support for the South African Students Organization—SASO—founded and led by the late Steve Biko, and which has taken the lead in the prolonged rioting and strikes in South Africa since 1976 in which many lives have been lost.

Miss Parker, citing an official South African commission which investigated the National Union of South African Students—NUSAS—stated that the WUS and the IUEF "were the biggest foreign sources of money for NUSAS." She wrote in the *Citizen* of July 28, 1977:

In May, 1971, a British newspaper quoted the Secretary General of WUS, a Mr. S. Chidambaramathan, as saying that WUS "has come out openly in support of guerrilla movements."

The Republic, it appeared, would be a particular target.

"World University Service opposes any government or body co-operating with South Africa and is outspokenly against the sale of arms there."

Shortly afterwards newspapers here and abroad carried the news that WUS was lending support to terrorist movements.

It was reported that a WUS official was negotiating with the OAU on what would be the best way to help the "liberation movements." Best known of these were the ANC, PAC, Frelimo, ZAPU and ZANU.

WUS established a South African office in 1963. Within a year or two a NUSAS official had been appointed to the local executive.

Shortly afterwards the local WUS office was closed down—but the Geneva headquarters continued as a major source of funding for NUSAS and other bodies.

By 1967 NUSAS knew all about the CIA connection—and by 1971 was getting its instructions, in no uncertain terms.

Michel Goualt, co-secretary of WUS in Geneva, wrote—laying it on the line. NUSAS would have to cooperate much more closely with the radical Black student organisation,

SASO, he said, or run the risk of losing certain donations.

"You are certainly aware of the sympathy going towards SASO in the circle of organisations such as WUS," he wrote.

The letter, the text of which is in *The Citizen*'s possession but is too long to be used in full indicated that NUSAS should understand it was of strategic importance to build up SASO for the day "when time comes down to action" and for the "useful results" which SASO's approach could be expected to yield.

Goualt's letter made it abundantly clear that WUS was using both NUSAS and SASO in accordance with a long-term political strategy.

Miss Parker's article continued:

Further evidence of WUS links with terrorist movements was given in two paragraphs in the publication "WUS Action, 1971-72." These read:

"WUS is in contact and cooperation with Southern African liberation movements with regard to its education program.

"The Azanian (ie, South African) programs are carried out in co-operation with the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) and with the co-operation of the South African Students Organisation (SASO)."

Even less well-known to most South Africans is the International University Exchange Fund. Born out of the old International Student Conference (ISC), IUEF, founded in 1960 had a political character from the start.

IUEF's aims were clearly spelt out in its official mouthpiece, the *Student*, in the January/February issue of 1967:

"The goal upon which the IUEF work is focused is . . . the liberation of those African nations still suffering under the rule of colonialism or apartheid.

"Therefore the IUEF stays in close contact with all the major liberation movements and receives scholarship nominations from them."

Movements listed include ANC, PAC, SWAPO, SWANU, ZANU, ZAPU and Frelimo.

The article added: "Graduates who have received IUEF scholarships in the past can now be found working for the liberation of their people in many of the organisations mentioned."

Miss Parker noted that as with the World University Service, the role of the CIA in the International Student Conference—and in the U.S. National Student Association—became known in 1967. While the ISC was allowed to dissolve after that exposure, the International University Exchange Fund was kept in operation as an "independent" organization. Also kept in operation, with funding from other sources, were the U.S. National Student Association which became a leader of the anti-Vietnam demonstrations on the campuses, and Operation Crossroads Africa.

As Miss Parker wrote:

The IUEF developed amazingly fast from

a small fund with a limited number of scholarships to one of the most important organisations in its field.

By 1971 its total budget amounted to more than R14-million, with additional sponsors coming in all the time.

#### GENEROUS

Both organisations were generous contributors to NUSAS—to the point where, judging by a letter written in 1969 by Clive Nettleton, the acting president, and quoted on Page 157 of the Schlebusch Report, NUSAS officials were confused about which body was contributing to which project.

The Schlebusch report also stated that the IUEF had become the most important source of funds for NUSAS.

IUEF's aims and objects in Southern Africa were spelt out in the clearest possible terms by IUEF director, Lars-Gunnar Eriksen, at an "international Conference of Experts for the Support of Victims of Colonialism and Apartheid in Southern Africa," held in Oslo from April 9 to 14, 1973.

Under the heading, "The Motives Behind Assistance," he said: "It would seem that the time has come when organizations must recognise that the prime intention is to provide within the unavoidable limitations, assistance towards the ultimate and total liberation of the countries in Southern Africa and to plan programmes and priorities in that context."

Under the heading "Programmes Behind Enemy Lines," he said: "It is today by and large recognised that liberation and revolution must come from within the country.

"As a consequence it is not desirable that the politically agile and aware leave the country more than is necessary. That should lead us to provide an increased and more effective assistance behind the lines of the enemy.

"Perhaps even more important are the activities undertaken by many different groups with a view to creating a greater political awareness among the people, to spread information of civil and labour rights, to provide leadership training, community development programmes, training in nutrition, literacy, etc.

"More details obviously cannot be given publicly. Assistance towards programmes behind the enemy lines, carried out in a quiet way through reliable channels, should be given increased importance by those concerned . . ."

Are WUS and IUEF still "operating behind the enemy lines"? NUSAS may be out of action, but the funds still come through and are handled by various trusts and organisations.

IUEF is still operating a prison education programme, notably among the political prisoners on Robben Island.

Following investigations of the NUSAS, the South African Parliament in March 1971 passed the "Affected Organizations Act" which prohibits foreign money from being used for political objectives in South Africa. The South African Schlebusch Commission, which consisted of members of both the Nationalist Party

and the United Party, found that the NUSAS was responsible for providing recruits to the terrorist movements ANC and PAC by acting as agents for U.S. "scholarship" grants to support persons on such courses.

The articles in the Citizen also examined the role of another U.S. organization involved in these "outreach" and training programs for South African students, the African-American Institute (AAI). Founded in 1953, the AAI was also among the organizations exposed by the radical left in 1967 for CIA involvement. It is noted that Waldemar A. Nielson, AAI's first president, made a public statement in February 1967 saying that the CIA had subsidized the AAI from its founding in 1953 until 1961, at which time he became conscious of the "inherent imprudence and impropriety" of the arrangement and severed AAI's ties to the CIA.

Since that time, the African-American Institute has relied for funding principally on grants from the State Department, from the Agency for International Development (AID), and from private, tax-exempt liberal foundations including the Ford Foundation, Rockefeller Brothers Fund, Rockefeller Foundation, Carnegie Foundation and Cummins Engine Foundation.

The Citizen examined some previously published 1973 correspondence between AAI president William R. Cotter, who like his predecessor Waldemar Nielson is a member of the elite foreign policy and corporate club called the Council on Foreign Relations, and Colin Eglin, a former South African Progressive Party leader, who was planning to travel through Africa accompanied by a prominent black South African leader, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, and with David Curry, a leader of the South African Labour Party.

Eglin planned for an interracial group—white, "colored," and black—to visit black-run African countries and engage in "dialogues" on political and cultural matters. Eglin asked for AAI assistance in setting up his tour since he knew that AAI was already organizing a conference in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, to which Zulu leader Buthelezi had already been invited. Eglin asked whether he and David Curry could attend the AAI conference as "observers." Eglin endeavored to invoke the assistance of two others associated with the AAI, industrialist Harry Oppenheimer and Maurice Templesman.

Cotter wrote back to Eglin saying bluntly that "it simply will not be possible for you to be invited to the Addis Ababa conference." He continued, "Observers are not permitted in the sessions

which are designed to enable the relatively small group of Africans—apparently only the black variety—and Americans to exchange ideas freely about problems common to the United States and the African continent."

Cotter wrote another letter also dated August 3, 1973, to Chief Buthelezi enclosing a copy of his letter to Eglin and stating a blunt warning to the Zulu leader not to become involved with whites and mixed-race leaders. As reprinted in the Citizen, Cotter's letter stated:

I am, frankly, worried about your intention to travel with Eglin and David Curry in connection with your trip to Addis for the Dialogue.

As you know, we want to make arrangements with the Governments of Zambia, Kenya and Tanzania for you to visit those countries on your way to and/or returning from the Addis meeting.

However, that was on the understanding that you would be traveling alone. I'm afraid that if you travel in the company of a White South African—even such an obvious liberal as Colin Eglin—this will make it much more difficult for arrangements to be made.

There might be the appearance that Eglin was "sponsoring" your visit \* \* \* \* \* that suspicion could only compromise you and your ability to make the kind of contacts and have the conversations which you want.

Consequently I would urge you not to travel \* \* \* with Eglin and Curry but rather make that trip alone \* \* \* to make it clear that you are your own man and not some faint echo of a liberal White South African plan for domestic integration and continental dialogue.

The letter from AAI's Cotter concluded bluntly,

Please let me know as soon as possible what your decision is. If you will be traveling alone, then we will proceed to make the contacts as promised with Tanzania, Zambia and Kenya.

If, however, you feel you are committed to travel with Eglin and Curry then, I'm afraid, we would rather not make such arrangements at this time. (emphasis added)

The letter from the AAI president Cotter makes plain that if the Zulu leader were to associate with the white and colored leaders, AAI would refuse to pay for and otherwise arrange his travel. It is also interesting that AAI intended to send Chief Buthelezi to Tanzania and Zambia in which the southern African terrorist movements maintain offices and headquarters and to the Kenyan dictatorship. Eglin's proposed itinerary included Liberia, Nigeria, Senegal, the Ivory Coast, Ghana, Sierra Leone, and Malawi in addition to the countries in which the terrorists had their havens.

The Citizen stated that the letter to Chief Buthelezi was addressed to him "care of Consul-General Holmes, U.S.

Embassy, Durban." According to the Citizen, "Mr. Holmes was accused by the South African press later in 1973 of being a CIA agent, a charge he described as 'ridiculous.'" Reporter Parker further wrote that Maurice Templesman, a member of AAI's board of directors, "is the head of a New York-based diamond company exposed, according to the Paris-based International New Press Agency in an intelligence briefing dated October 23, 1975, as a 'company having worked closely with the CIA for more than a decade.'"

Mr. Eglin had stated in 1973, after the letters were first published, that he had found it "unfortunate" that "people in the United States" should have acted to deliberately prevent a demonstration of multiracial harmony in South Africa. Mr. Eglin was presumably then unaware of William H. Cotter's testimony a year earlier (1972) before the House Foreign Relations Committee when he said:

I am in complete accord with those who call for the U.S. to accelerate the process of change in South Africa. Nor would I automatically rule out violence as an instrument of obtaining the rights of the non-White majority.

With its staff of 90, the AAI has maintained its programs of hostility and agitation against South Africa without major change. Statements made at and written for AAI's 1967 "Workshop on the Training and Utilization of Refugee Students from Southern Africa," held April 18-19, 1976, are revealing. AAI literature does not like to refer to countries by name, but prefers to mention "Southern Africa" or the "minority-ruled countries of Southern Africa"—but clearly do not mean the black-run oligarchies and dictatorships which repress their citizens regardless of their race.

AAI executive vice president E. Jefferson Murphy said in 1967:

It is of vital importance to provide education and training for refugees from Southern Africa for humanitarian reasons, because they are symbols of the struggle against racism and for the majority rule in their countries, and because they will be needed in the fight for freedom and in the subsequent process of nation building.

The objectives of such training should be, first, to prepare students to participate effectively in the struggle for freedom and, second, to prepare them to contribute to their people in exile, to their country of asylum, and ultimately to their home country when independence comes.

Murphy went on to specify AAI promotion of the "liberation movements" which are Marxist in ideology, terrorist in practice, founded and backed by the Communists in Moscow and Peking, and which have as much intention of estab-

lishing a representative form of Government as Fidel Castro. Wrote Murphy:

Scholarships for training should be awarded where possible to students affiliated with a liberation movement, and the training programme and efforts to assure trained students utilization in return should be planned and carried out as much as possible in cooperation with liberation movements.

And in case the purpose of the African-American Institute's work was not sufficiently clear at this point, executive vice president Murphy spelled it out:

Whatever steps are taken to solve short-term problems, there is only one ultimate solution to the overall problem: that is the overthrow of minority regimes in Southern Africa and the liberation of the Southern tier of the continent.

Leonid Brezhnev or Fidel Castro would not have stated it differently.

It should be noted that at the 1967 meeting, representatives of the U.S.S.R. and South African Communist Party controlled African National Congress (ANC), the Moscow-controlled South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), and the small Peking-oriented South West Africa National Union (SWANU) were in attendance.

In its latest annual report for 1976-77, the AAI documented its continuing involvement with South African terrorists. In commenting on its "1976 Dialog" conference held in Lesotho, AAI said:

The Hon. Alfred Nzo, Secretary-General of the ANC, and David M. Sibeko, Director of Foreign Affairs, Pan African(ist) Congress, and five young South African students who had sought refuge in Maseru when their classmates were detained following the June riots in Soweto \* \* \* were among those present.

Also attending the AAI 1976 Lesotho "Dialogs" was Andrew J. Young, now our United Nations Ambassador, who has the adult children of PAC founder Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe living in his house as a demonstration of his friendship with their militant father.

It is noted that the Agency for International Development last year commissioned a massive "feasibility" study on Rhodesia, South West Africa and South Africa. The feasibility study was to determine how, not whether, U.S. assistance—food, agricultural, trade, medicine and other—would be best provided to the regimes established by the terrorist "liberation movements" after the overthrow of existing governments. The basic premise of the study was that none of the white technicians would be around for long in the event of the expected terrorist takeover, and that total disruption, anarchy and famine would ensue—unless

the U.S. taxpayer footed the bill for bailing out the terrorist regimes.

The citizen examined the AAI's principal programs, the Southern African Training Program (SATP), the Southern African Refugee Education Project (SARP), and the South African Student Program (SASP). All these, reported the citizen, are funded by grants to AAI from AID, and the State Department. AAI says that 563 "refugees" have received a U.S. education under the SASP program.

AAI continued, "In carrying out both the SASP and the SARP program, AAI works closely with Southern African liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity." These OAU-recognized "liberation movements" are the previously mentioned Moscow and Peking-initiated terrorist operations. The ranks of the OAU "liberation movements" formerly included the Communist terrorist movements which now rule Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique and which have made those countries the newest Soviet Third World satellites.

AAI vice president Frank Ferrari has stated that "The guerrilla of yesterday is the Minister of tomorrow." This bankrupt amoral line would be more accurately phrased as "the terrorist of today runs the police state of tomorrow"—apparently with the help of the new administration, its State Department and intelligence service. Which brings us back to the late Steve Biko.

#### STEVE BIKO

According to members of the New Left, pro-terrorist Southern Africa Committee, "Those of us who knew Steve Biko will remember him as a revolutionary, possessed by a dream." The SAC members continued:

Ironically, Steve Biko is now being labeled a moderate by American journalists and politicians, even while the protests he stimulated are termed "riots." Only if a belief that blacks and whites will eventually live together in a non-exploitative society is "moderate," can the label be made to stick. Equally important, Biko saw racial harmony being realized only through a radical restructuring of both economic and political relationships. And while he felt no need to abandon his soft-spoken warmth to prove his revolutionary commitment, he also made no apologies for his political positions.

He continually called for a recognition of ANC and PAC, the liberation movements which have shouldered arms to bring the white government down. And he frequently attacked white liberals who thought they had done their bit for liberation by having blacks to tea.

"The myth of integration as propounded under the banner of liberal ideology must be cracked and killed," he once said, "because

it makes people believe that something is being done when in actual fact, the integrated circles are a soporific on the blacks and provide a satisfaction for the guilt-sticken whites."

Without the veil of liberalism of obscuring their view, Biko said, "it will not be long before the blacks relate their poverty to their blackness in concrete terms... It is not surprising therefore that the blacks should wish to rid themselves of a system that locks up the wealth of the country in the hands of a few." And that, he suggested, meant that "any black government is likely to be socialist."

In their memorial to revolutionary Steve Biko, the SAV radicals provided an account of how Biko had been an activist with the NUSAS, funded with U.S. taxpayers' money clandestinely. In summary, in 1968 Steve Biko was a medical student at the University of Natal. He was a member of NUSAS, a multi-racial organization of white liberal students and blacks. Biko, himself a racist, was also a member of the University Christian Movement (UCM), an organization founded in the United States which served as the Christian Marxist arm of the New Left and which was instrumental in the formation of Castroite "intelligence-gathering arms" as the North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA) and the Africa Research Group, SAC's parent.

Under Biko's leadership, and with UCM support, the black militants split away from the NUSAS to set up the militant South African Students' Organization (SABO), formerly inaugurated in July 1969 and modeled after the U.S. "black power" movement. As the Southern Africa Committee noted:

From the beginning, SABO was audacious and energetic in a way no political group in South Africa had been since the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress were banned in 1960. With Biko as its first President, it developed a program that, more than any other single factor, has led to the spirit of resistance among South Africans today.

Biko also initiated the formation of other "community-based" black militant groups, the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) and the Black People's Convention (BPC) of which Biko was an honorary vice-president. A BCM conference in Lesotho in June 1973 resulted in the formation of a BCM "front" organization called the South African Students' Movement (SASM).

Operating under the leadership of Steve Biko, the BCM and its SASM worked out a plan for continually escalating violence to eventually bring about a "people's war" in the style of Mao Tse-tung and Vo Nguyen Giap. A

secret SASM history and manifesto was published in the South African press on September 17, 1977, after its public release by South African Minister of Justice Kruger.

With its rhetoric of a Maoist-style "people's war" and its use of the term "Azania" for South Africa, the BCM's SASM organization has indicated its ideological ties to the Pan Africanist Congress, although ANC members have also been active in the organizing of the Soweto riots and other acts of violence. Again, with credits to reporter Aida Parker:

Couched in familiar Marxist jargon, the document also states quite unequivocally that BCM wants "violently to smash international and national capitalist economic structures and bourgeois State institutions in South Africa."

It states that the socioeconomic system envisaged for "Azania" is "scientific socialism"—the system now being operated with such calamitous results in Marxist Mozambique.

Also in conformity with post-independence events in Mozambique, the blueprint for the contemplated "Azania" envisages nationalisation of all industries, commerce and agriculture, "the overthrow of traditional and religious hangovers" and "revolutionising of schools"

#### DOLLARS

Rather ungratefully, considering the millions of dollars poured into the various Black Consciousness movements by the American Central Intelligence Agency, the State Department, Ford Foundation and other U.S. organisations, the manifesto also declares war "against Imperialism led by America and its European allies".

Tracing the historical background, the 32-page manifesto says that for many years Nasas and the Liberal Party provided "the only forums for the Blacks to exercise any political activity."

In 1967, the University Christian Movement (introduced into South Africa from the U.S.) was formed and this created the catalyst for the formation of the radical South African Students' Organisation (Saso).

"Saso acted not only to crystallise the ideas of the Black Consciousness Movement and philosophy, but it became the main catalysing agency for the formation of other BCM organisations like BCP (Black People's Convention), Bawa (Black and Allied Workers' Union) and Nayo (National Youth Organisation).

"In a short time these organisations gained tremendous momentum.

"One of the cardinal points was 'The Black People, who are the majority, should take over power. Power to the People!'

A BCM conference in Lesotho in June 1973 formed the South African Student's Movement to give members of the BCM a cover under which they could effectively operate internationally to obtain all the experience and equipment necessary for the prosecution of the liberation struggle at all levels. Propaganda, agitation, armed struggle.

"BCM moved its most advanced elements and cadres to operate under the SASM cover, particularly to prosecute the struggle at its intensest and highest level.

"BCM wants to mount such agitation as will tear down all semblance of fascist law and order.

"BCM wants violently to smash international and national capitalist economic structures and bourgeois State institutions in South Africa and on their ruins build a new democratic system where discrimination, oppression and exploitation of man by man will be banned for ever.

"Armed Struggle. The BCM is resolutely committed to the liberation of the oppressed masses of Azania by building up a People's Army and thus creating conditions for a People's War against the fascist imperialist oppressors.

"This will be a long protracted struggle into which the People's Army for the Liberation of Azania will throw in combatants who will not only fight the enemy, but will also have the duty to defend the revolution.

"Military Training. The BCM has adopted a military programme to train the Azanian People's Army. This programme is in the process of accomplishment, in spite of intrigues on the part of imperialistic running dogs to sabotage it.

"This programme envisages, besides the ordinary military commando training of the cadres, the transformation of the already country-wide revolutionary study cells into politico-military cells.

"In other words, these cells will be changed into operational groups to train the masses for conditions of military conflict and for the takeover and exercise of political power.

"Political Training. The BCM gives political training to its cadres by exposing them to classical Marxist revolutionary theories and to the many texts which give accounts of the experience of other peoples who have successfully waged revolutionary struggles.

"In this way the cadres familiarise themselves with the fundamental principles of scientific socialism.

"The present capitalist system which benefits a few settlers in Azania and the imperialist world (Britain, the US, West Germany, France, Japan, etc) at the expense of the labouring masses will be abolished and industry, commerce and agriculture will be nationalised.

"The economy will be designed to meet the basic needs of each peasant and worker according to his needs and develop the fullness of his ability.

"A truly democratic self-supporting economy will be established and organised on broad principles of scientific socialism.

"Agrarian Reform. Each peasant will be allotted enough land to meet his requirements. It is possible to win the support of the majority for confiscation and redistribution of all land.

"Educating the Nation. Our education will be education for all. It shall be national democratic education aimed at mental decolonisation, the overthrow of old habits and customs and of traditional and religious hangovers.

"In camps and liberated areas political

education will be given priority at all times. The process of further revolutionisation of schools will keep deepening."

The manifesto ends by pledging uniformity with the "international proletariat", and the statement: "We have completely declared war against Imperialism led by America and its European allies."

#### CONCLUSION

Mr. Speaker, I maintain that there is extremely strong evidence that America's Central Intelligence Agency, in conjunction with certain factions of previous administrations and in association with some very questionable financial and banking interests that we now see associated with the Trilateral Commission, has been attempting to destabilize the pro-Western countries of southern Africa, particularly South Africa, contrary to the true interests of America.

As described by R. Harris Smith in his book, "OSS: The Secret History of America's First Central Intelligence Agency," at the suggestion of CIA Assistant Director Tom Braden who joined the Agency in 1951 "and with the support of Allen Dulles and Frank Wisner, the CIA began its covert support of the non-Communist political left around the world—trade unions, political parties, and international organizations of students and journalists."

That process is clearly continuing. Unfortunately the unfolding of history has generally shown that once the dust has settled, the so-called "non-Communist" or "nationalist" Marxists have been thoroughly penetrated by Moscow's agents so as to quickly fall under Soviet domination, or have actually been Moscow's servants all along. The result of that policy of backing leftists has been a succession of defeats for individual liberty and human rights.

If the House Intelligence Committee really wants to exercise its oversight and investigative authority with respect to the Central Intelligence Agency and avoid charges of covering up uncontrolled intelligence activities harmful to the Nation's interests, the material assembled in this report can provide a basis for initial inquiry.

The United States of America needs aggressive, comprehensive and competitive foreign intelligence services: one of these should be a Central Intelligence Agency whose men and women are dedicated to the antitotalitarian principles embodied in our Constitution. America does not under any circumstances need an intelligence service to go out and subvert the Western World ahead of the KGB.

February 19, 1981

#### THE ANTI-AFRICA LOBBY: WASHINGTON OFFICE ON AFRICA

#### HON. LARRY McDONALD

OF GEORGIA

#### IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 19, 1981

● Mr. McDONALD. Mr. Speaker, every day those of us who serve in this body are approached by lobbying individuals and groups asking us to support their causes. Just as they have a right to lobby, we who serve in this body have a duty to our constituents and to all Americans to be aware of the nature of these groups and to examine whether their causes are in the interests of the country as a whole.

Although modestly funded, one of the most active lobbying groups is the Washington Office on Africa (WOA), which last month launched an appeal for funds. The appeal used alarming language with its theme a claimed possibility that the new Reagan administration is planning to intervene in southern Africa with Angola almost certainly presenting the first test.

Quite oblivious to dangers created for the United States and the non-Communist world by the Soviet Union and its surrogates in southern Africa, and to the aggression already unleashed from Angola against Zaire, as well as southwest Africa, the WOA wrote: "The new administration's dominant emphasis on Soviet expansion could well lead to a dangerous insensitivity to the consequences of such a policy."

One can only infer that the WOA believes that to concentrate on blocking the expansion of Soviet totalitarianism which is already creating a chain of new colonies across Africa is an error. Perhaps WOA does not recall how much a failure appeasement proved to the world in the 1930's.

To conclude its funding appeal, WOA wrote:

Today we are faced with President Reagan, who may lead our country into a new and dangerous period of United States-African relations. Can we afford to give up now, after the gains we have made?

Rhetoric aside, during the Nixon, Ford, and Carter administrations, the WOA had fluctuating and various degrees of success in influencing U.S. policies and legislation affecting

Africa. Among the successes the WOA claims as its work are the Clark amendment which prohibits any Central Intelligence Agency covert action in Angola without explicit congressional approval and sanctions against Rhodesia which barred import of materials including strategic chrome ore produced under the former non-Marxist Rhodesian Government.

With the change of administrations, the new leadership in the Senate and developments in this body, WOA said:

We anticipate efforts aimed at changing investment and trade policy, loosening export controls, and possibly renewing nuclear fuel exports.

All policies WOA takes credit for having facilitated.

The Washington Office on Africa (WOA), 110 Maryland Avenue NE., Washington, D.C. 20002 (202-546-7961), is a spinoff group and the lobbying arm of the New York-based American Committee on Africa (ACOA). According to WOA's associate director, Christine Root, who has been with WOA since its inception, WOA is a lobbying group, sponsored by several Protestant Church denominations and the American Committee on Africa, which focuses on U.S. policy toward those areas of southern Africa which are still under white rule.

Explained Miss Root:

In our efforts to influence the passage of legislation, we do both direct lobbying with staff and Members of Congress in Washington and communicate with constituents in especially important districts, so that Members of Congress get both accurate information on the issues and a sense that people in their districts care about the issue.

In making these statements, Root was expanding on what WOA terms a focussed approach which they explain as follows:

The WOA works for a progressive U.S. policy toward Africa. \* \* \* We believe that such a policy cannot become reality unless we concentrate our limited resources and the support of a relatively small number of concerned Americans. We therefore focus on Congressional legislative issues, and try to win them one at a time.

WOA's fight against the former non-Marxist black majority government in Zimbabwe has demonstrated that its goals are not majority rule. Furthermore, WOA's rhetoric against whites living in Africa takes on a racialist tone as was demonstrated in a 1978 statement:

The center of the lobby against white rule

is the Washington Office on Africa. Its three-person staff works out of a tiny Capitol Hill office with an equally tiny budget of \$52,000 a year. Its considerable clout comes from the support of influential domestic allies who are not usually identified as African lobbyists or registered as such.

The leadership position taken by the Washington Office on Africa was confirmed in a 1978 publication of the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) which praised WOA's active lobbying with congressional offices; it is taking the lead in the successful effort to secure repeal of the Byrd amendment; and the drive to halt Eximbank help for South Africa.

The effect of WOA's lobbying is not merely to oppose governments dominated by whites in southern Africa, but to support Soviet-backed revolutionary movements in these areas. For example, WOA demanded a U.S. hands-off policy in Angola and declined to support the pro-Western UNITA guerrillas, so that the effect was aiding the Marxist-Leninist MPLA forces receiving massive support from the Soviet Union, Cuba, and the Warsaw Pact countries.

WOA's parent organization, the American Committee on Africa (ACOA), originated from meetings held in London in 1951 between members of the Soviet-controlled African National Congress (ANC) and U.S. black activist Bill Sutherland. Sutherland, 62, is an employee of the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) who is based in Tanzania.

Soon thereafter with the agreement of ANC's then-secretary general Walter Sisulu, a forerunner of ACOA called Americans for South African Resistance (ASAR) was organized by a U.S. citizen, peace activist and former executive director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), George Houser. When Houser reorganized ASAR into the ACOA, support activities for pro-Soviet revolutionary terrorist movements continued with the Algerian FLN, Congo Premier Patrice Lumumba, Angola's MPLA, FRELIMO in Mozambique and the Zimbabwe Patriotic Front.

According to the AFSC:

The American Committee on Africa for a quarter of a century has given undivided time, attention and support to the liberation struggle in Africa. Trusted implicitly by liberation movement leaders, the ACOA is highly regarded by those who are working in this country to assist the freedom struggle in Southern Africa.

ACOA has taken a leadership role in coordinating the campaigns to stop U.S. bank loans to South Africa, to promote divestment of stock in companies doing business with South Africa, and to stop the sale of Krugerrand by U.S. banks and coin dealers.

In the United States, the ACOA and WOA work closely with revolutionary terrorist support and lobbying groups having a broader interest base such as the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS), the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy (CNFMP) (of which the WOA is an affiliate), the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) and Clergy and Laity Concerned (CALC). In addition, WOA and ACOA serve as primary resources for many other support groups for Soviet backed revolutionary and terrorist groups in Africa including the Southern Africa Committee, Pan African Skills Project/Patrice Lumumba Coalition and the International Defence and Aid Fund.

In 1967, the ACOA established a presence in Washington, D.C., and opened a full-time office in 1968. This direct ACOA lobbying activity ceased with the opening of the WOA in 1972. Operating as an independent organization for 9 years, the WOA now lists as its sponsors the ACOA; Christian Church (Disciples of Christ); the Church of the Brethren; Episcopal Church, Public Affairs Office, Executive Council; Lutheran Church in America, Division for Mission in North America; the United Church of Christ, Board of World Ministries, Office for Church in Society; United Methodist Church, Board of Global Ministries, Women's Division, Africa Office; United Presbyterian Church, Program Agency; and the United Automobile, Aerospace, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America (UAW).

Regarding WOA funding, it is noted that a 1980 report by David Jessup entitled "Preliminary Inquiry Regarding Financial Contributions to Outside Political Groups by Boards and Agencies of the United Methodist Church, 1977-79," shows that the WOA received \$2,000 a year during the review period from the UMC while the total UMC funding to U.S. groups, many of them revolutionary, is nearly \$50,000 a year. Mr. Jessup wrote:

The ACOA received \$5,000 from the Women's Division and \$4,000 from the World Division in 1977-79, while the WOA received \$3,500 from the Women's Division

in 1977-78. Twenty other organizations received approximately \$38,600 over a two-year period from the two Divisions: Africa News, the Southern Africa Committee, the South Africa Freedom Committee, TransAfrica, Eritreans for Liberation, African Survival Committee, Committee to Oppose Loans to South Africa, International Freedom Mobilization, Pan African Congress, Pan African Skills, South Africa Freedom Day Coalition, Soweto Childrens Group, South Africa Christian Council Refugee Program, S.W. Africa National Union, Zimbabwe African Women, Coalition of Concerned Black Americans, Commission for Racial Justice, McHarry Medical Society Program, and the International Defense and Aid Fund.

The Washington Office on Africa has an estimated annual budget of \$130,000 which includes salaries, \$50,000; postage, \$7,000; office rental, \$4,000; printing and publications, \$60,000; and lobbying expenses, \$9,000.

Since October 1980, WOA's executive director has been Jean Sindab, who is completing her Ph. D. in political science from Yale University, having spent a year in Zambia doing research. WOA's associate director is Christine Root, active with WOA since its inception.

However, WOA's long-term executive director, Edgar "Ted" Lockwood, retired from that post in June 1980, but only to continue to exercise his influence on policy as director of the Washington Office on Africa Educational Fund (WOAEF) which shares WOA's office space.

Others who have worked for the WOA include David Neigus, George Wright, Maghan Keita, Sr., Janice McLaughlin, David McGloin, and Carolyn Long.

The considerable clout and influential domestic allies of which WOA boasts it described in more detail in 1979, stating:

In addition, we multiply our numbers by working with other networks. We help get the word out through the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy and through IMPACT, a religious network. This year we joined with TransAfrica in establishing a Washington working group of over 30 national organizations to coordinate legislative strategies on southern Africa.

TransAfrica describes itself as the Black American Lobby for Africa and the Caribbean. It was founded in 1977 as a membership organization to inform and organize popular opinion in the United States to advocate policies and practices that will help to achieve a more progressive U.S. for-

ign policy toward the nations of Africa and the Caribbean and peoples of African descent generally throughout the world.

From its support for the Marxist terrorist groups in southern Africa, TransAfrica appears to use the word "progressive" as a code word to signify change along lines sought by the Soviet Union.

TransAfrica's organizer and executive director is Randall Robinson, who is well known on Capitol Hill as the former director of the Congressional Black Caucus.

TransAfrica has an elected board of 23 directors who include Richard Hatcher, chairman; Harry Belafonte; Rev. Isaac Bivens; Bishop Hartford Brookins; Walter Carrington, Esq.; Dr. Herschelle Challenor; Courtland Cox; Robert Farrell; Dr. Carlton Goodlett; Dorothy Height; Dr. Willard Johnson; Eugene Jackson; C. Payne Lucas; William Lucy; Louis Morton; Representative PARREN MITCHELL of Maryland; Rev. Randolph Nugent; Rev. Robert C. S. Powell; Dr. Samuel Proctor; Frank Savage; Percy Sutton; Dr. James Turner; and Dr. Ron Walters.

It is noted that of the TransAfrica directors, several such as Percy Sutton, Harry Belafonte, Coalition of Black Trade Unionist (CBTU) Leader William Lucy, and World Peace Council Vice President Carlton Goodlett have in the past been involved with fronts and causes of the Communist Party, U.S.A. (CPUSA), while Courtland Cox is a veteran of the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS) and its anti-intelligence spinoff, the Center for National Security Studies (CNSS).●

#### THE ANTI-AFRICA LOBBY: WASHINGTON OFFICE ON AFRICA, PART II

##### HON. LARRY McDONALD

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 19, 1981

● Mr. McDONALD. Mr. Speaker, we have been discussing the activities of a lobbying group, the Washington Office on Africa (WOA), which has boasted that its "considerable clout comes from the support of influential domestic allies who are not usually identified as African lobbyists or registered as such."

A part of that "clout" can be seen in

the contacts of the Southern African Working Group, which is not inappropriately abbreviated SWAG. This group was put together by the WOA and TransAfrica in January 1979, and is an outgrowth of a 1978 economic warfare project called South African Summer initiated by the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) and the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy (CNFMP) of which the WOA is an active member.

In promoting this project, the AFSC stated:

The Coalition, working in close collaboration with the Washington Office on Africa, through its extensive coast-to-coast outreach informs a large variety of people about Southern Africa issues, and suggests specific actions, especially legislative, for concerned people to take.

From the list of participants in the founding meeting of the Southern Africa Working Group one can see part of the scope of domestic allies who are not usually identified as African lobbyists or registered as such. They included the following individuals:

Millard Arnold, Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law (LCCRUL), 733 15th Street NW., Suite 520, Washington, D.C. 20005.

Leonard Ball, CBTU, 1010 Vermont Avenue NW., Washington, D.C. 20005.

Tart Bell, AFSC, 1822 R Street NW., Washington, D.C. 20009.

Ron Brown, National Urban League, 425 13th Street NW., Suite 515, Washington, D.C. 20004.

Cindy Buhl, CNFMP, 120 Maryland Avenue NE., Washington, D.C. 20002.

Roger Cochetti, United Nations Association, 316 Pennsylvania Avenue SE., Washington, D.C. 20003.

Ken Colburn, Congressional Black Caucus, 306 House Annex I, Washington, D.C. 20515.

Cecile Counts, Southern Africa News Collective, 2901 18th Street NW., No. 204, Washington, D.C.

Courtland Cox, Emergency Fund for Southern Africa, 1625 I Street NW., No. 725, Washington, D.C. 20006.

Olapido Dada, 1644 11th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

Jennifer Douglas, National Urban League.

Bob Edgar, African Studies Center, Howard University, WDC 20059.

Gretchen Eick, United Church of Christ (UCC), Office of Church in Society (OCIS), 110 Maryland Avenue, NE., Washington, D.C. 20002.

Koko Farrow, UCC-Committee for Racial Justice, 1029 Vermont Avenue, Washington, D.C. 20005.

Elizabeth French, Women Strike for Peace (WSP), 8817 Chalon Drive, Bethesda, Md. 20034.

John W. Garland, National Conference of Black Lawyers (NCBL), 1926 6th Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20001.

Lou Gerber, Communications Workers of America (CWA), 1925 K Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20006.

James Hackney, Lawyers Study Group, 1250 Connecticut Avenue NW, Washington, D.C. 20036.

Bob Hayden, United Steelworkers, 815 16th Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20006.

Sylvia Hill, Southern Africa News Collective, 1823 9th Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20001.

Helen Hopps, Institute for Policy Studies (IPS), 1901 Q Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20009.

Ed Killackey, Maryknoll Fathers, 1325 Otis Street NE, Washington, D.C. 20017.

Stephanie Klein, International Human Rights Law Group, 1700 K Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20006.

Alex Knopp, Members of Congress for Peace through Law (MCP), 201 Massachusetts Avenue NE, Washington, D.C. 20002.

Francis Kornegay, African Bibliographic Center, 1346 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Washington, D.C. 20036.

Helen Kramer, International Association of Machinists (IAM), 1300 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Washington, D.C. 20036.

Rollins Lambert, U.S. Catholic Conference, 1312 Massachusetts Avenue, NW, Washington, D.C. 20005.

Johnnie Landon, Institute for Labor Relations, 2345 Sherman Avenue, NW, Washington, D.C.

Edgar Lockwood, WOA, Singleton McAllister, TransAfrica.

Mary Jane Patterson, United Presbyterian Church, 110 Maryland Avenue, NE, Washington, D.C. 20002.

Bonnie Potter, United Auto Workers (UAW), 1125 15th Street, NW, Suite 600, Washington, D.C. 20005.

Emmitt Roberts, LCCRUL, 733 15th Street, NW, No. 520, Washington, D.C. 20005.

Randall Robinson, TransAfrica. Christine Root, WOA.

Charles Sklar, Women Strike for Peace (WSP), 201 Massachusetts Avenue, NE, Washington, D.C. 20002.

Damu Smith, AFSC, 1822 R Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20009.

Edward Spriggs, Esq., Arnold and Porter, 1712 16th Street, NW, No. 805, Washington, D.C. 20009.

Martha Wenger, Clergy and Laity Concerned (CALC), 1322 18th Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20036.

Laurie Wiseberg, Human Rights Internet, 1502 Ogden Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20010.

Amy Young-Anaway, International Human Rights Law Group, 1700 K Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20006.

Not all the groups and individuals

collaborating with the Washington Office on Africa, TransAfrica and the Southern Africa Working Group (SAWG) were able to attend the first meeting. Those invited who missed the first meeting include:

Bruce Cameron, legislative representative, Americans for Democratic Action (ADA), 1411 K Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20005.

Bob Cummings, African Studies Department, Howard University.

Gladys Dorgedt, National Council of Negro Women, 1346 Connecticut Avenue NW, No. 832, Washington, D.C. 20036.

Helen Ellsworth, Amnesty International (AI), 413 East Capitol Street SE, Washington, D.C. 20003.

Joyce Hamlin, United Methodist Women, 110 Maryland Avenue NE, Washington, D.C. 20002.

George Houser, ACOA, 198 Broadway, 4th Floor, New York, N.Y. 10038.

Jane Leiper, National Council of Churches, 110 Maryland Avenue NE, Washington, D.C. 20002.

Carolyn Long, Bank Campaign, 2800 Woodley Road NW, No. 42, Washington, D.C. 20008.

Willian Lucy, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), 1625 L Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20005.

Mel McCaw, African-American Institute (AAI), 1201 Connecticut Avenue NW, No. 902, Washington, D.C. 20036.

Howard McGuigan, AFL-CIO, 815 15th Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20005.

Calvin Moore, Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW), 1126 16th Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20036.

Yvonne Price, Leadership Conference, 2027 Massachusetts Avenue NW, Washington, D.C. 20036.

Ruby Rhoades, Church of the Brethren, 110 Maryland Avenue NE, Washington, D.C. 20002.

Althea Simmons, director, NAACP Washington Office, 733 15th Street NW, No. 410, Washington, D.C. 20005.

Ed Snyder, Friends Committee on National Legislation (FCNL), 245 2nd Street NE, Washington, D.C. 20002.

Patrick Tobin, Washington Representative, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), 417 4th Street SE, Washington, D.C. 20003.

Dr. Ronald Walters, 1113 Woodside Parkway, Silver Spring, Md. 20910.

Robert White, NAFPE, 1644 11th Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20001.

Herman Will, United Methodist Church, 100 Maryland Avenue NE, Washington, D.C. 20002.

Among the groups most active with the SWAG in 1980 were:

American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), which excuses its support of a wide range of revolutionary and terrorist groups on the grounds that the "violence of the status quo"—meaning the existence of social and economic inequalities, poverty, hunger,

unemployment and "lack of a decent education"—justify "the armed violence of the freedom fighters." AFSC operates also through the Friends Committee on National Legislation (FCNL) whose director, Ed Snyder, has been associated with the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS) since the early 1960's.

Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) a lobbying organization with a longstanding record for anti-anti-communism which has supported the campaigns for drastic limits on U.S. foreign intelligence operations, to abolish U.S. internal security programs, and to promote disarmament and détente with the Soviet Union.

Amnesty International (AI) a human rights group formed in 1961, during the past decade it has increasingly focused its attacks on Free World governments while only mildly criticizing Marxist-Leninist regimes. AI's opinion-molding techniques were instrumental in promoting U.S. human rights policies against Rhodesia, South Africa, Iran and Latin America. One indication of AI's longstanding leftward curve is the fact that its targeting policies have remained consistent regardless of the fact that for the past two years AI's research director has been Derek Roebuck, a member of the Moscow-line Australian Communist party.

Clergy and Laity Concerned (CALC) a group founded by the National Council of Churches (NCC) to oppose U.S. support of South Vietnam, it has interpreted "anti-imperialism" to include support for Soviet-backed Third World revolutionary terrorist movements and Marxist totalitarian regimes.

Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU) an organization in which veterans of the Communist Party, U.S.A. (CPUSA) and its trade union and civil rights fronts have played leading roles. Among CBTU's efforts have been promoting support for the African National Congress (ANC) and pension fund divestment moves among black trade union officials.

Institute for Policy Studies (IPS) a Washington-based internationally active radical think-tank that has consistently advocated policies that support Soviet foreign policy goals whether the issue is disarmament (for the West), nonintervention (against Soviet-backed terrorist and insurgent groups), abolition of nuclear power (for the West), or efforts to curtail the intelligence and internal security agencies.

IPS and its Transnational Institute (TNI) project have documented ties to the Soviet and Cuban intelligence services. For more than fifteen years, IPS has played a central role in cultivating influence in Congress and the Executive Branch agencies and in coordinating pressure for policies of benefit to the U.S.S.R. IPS chairman Peter Weiss was president of the ACOA for a decade. Two ongoing IPS projects, the Southern Africa Project whose activists include Helen Hopps and Prexy Nesbitt, and Mike Klare's Militarism and Disarmament Project have played key roles in coordinating divestment

and antibank loan campaigns in Western Europe and the United States. The present TNI director, Basker Vashee, was subsidized by IPS/TNI while he was serving as the European spokesman of the Soviet-controlled faction of the Zimbabwe Patriotic Front, the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU).

Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law (LCCRUL) founded during the Kennedy Administration with the assistance of the Justice Department, the organization was intended to undercut the role of the CPUSA-controlled National Lawyers Guild (NLG) in the civil rights movement by providing a vehicle through which liberal attorneys could work. However, NLG lawyers promptly joined LCCRUL, have played significant roles LCCRUL projects and staffing. LCCRUL has operated a project on southern Africa for several years and has supported the leaders of both newer South African militant groups and the older Soviet-aligned African National Congress (ANC) and Peking-supported Pan Africanist Congress (PAC).

National Congress of Black Lawyers (NCBL) an organization of Marxist and revolutionary lawyers which serves as an adjunct to the predominantly white National Lawyers Guild (NLG). The NCBL is an affiliate of the Western Hemisphere affiliate of the Soviet-controlled International Association of Democratic Lawyers (IADL), the American Association of Jurists (AAJ), which is based in Havana.

Women Strike for Peace (WSP) a group thoroughly penetrated by the CPUSA and which shortly after its formation affiliated with the Soviet-controlled Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF). WSP members often hold dual membership in the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), another affiliate of the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy (CNFMP), and which collaborates with the World Peace Council and the WIDF.

World Peacemakers—Organized by IPS founder and "senior fellow" Richard Barnet and his IPS/TNI associates, the "Peacemakers" group apparently was originally targeted at establishing direct contact with President Carter. The organization is targeted at encouraging religious group participation in various disarmament, détente, "myth of the Soviet threat" and "human rights" campaigns.

The range of the Washington Office on Africa's influential domestic allies who are not usually identified as African lobbyists or registered as such was demonstrated perhaps best in the collection of signatories to a letter sent in March 1979 to the President opposing U.S. recognition of the non-Marxist elected black majority government in Zimbabwe.

The WOA/TransAfrica letter, which used TransAfrica's return address,

particularly opposed any lifting of U.S. economic sanctions against Zimbabwe/Rhodesia, an action which would undoubtedly have prevented that country's economic collapse and forced capitulation to the Soviet-backed Patriotic Front.

The letter termed jailed terrorists "political prisoners" and called for the end of martial law and legalization of both Patriotic Front terrorist parties because "the people of Zimbabwe cannot vote freely with a gun at their heads." Of course as independent U.S. observers confirmed, once the United States did follow this course supported by the WOA and its radical allies, Zimbabweans did vote "with a gun at their heads"—those of the Soviet and East German trained Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU) and the Red Chinese and Cuban trained Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU).

Among those who signed that letter were:

Mia Adjali, executive secretary, United Nations/International Affairs, Women's Division, Board of Global Ministries, United Methodist Church.

Eqbil Ahmad, IPS.

Robert Z. Alpern, Washington Office, Unitarian Universalist Association.

Richard Barnet, IPS.

B. Trott Bell, director, Washington Public Affairs Program, American Friends Service Committee.

Rev. Issac Bivens, United Methodist Church, Board of Global Ministries.

Robert Boehm, board of directors, The Africa Fund; and chairman, Center for Constitutional Rights (CCR), a radical litigation group of National Lawyers Guild activists in which IPS chairman Peter Weiss is a leader.

Robert Borosage, IPS.

Ramsey Clark, former U.S. Attorney General and a CCR "cooperating attorney."

Charles E. Cobb, Commission for Racial Justice, United Church of Christ.

Jean Dorsett, vice president, Women's Division, Board of Global Ministries, United Methodist Church.

Richard Falk, Institute for World Order.

Carl Feil, OSM, administrative assistant, U.S. Catholic Mission Council.

Henry Foner, president, Joint Board of Fur, Leather and Machineworkers.

Moe Foner, executive secretary, District 1199, National Union of Hospital and Healthcare Employees.

Douglas Fraser, president, United Auto Workers and current IPS trustee.

Victor Goode, executive director, National Conference of Black Lawyers (NCBL).

Carlton B. Goodlett, a veteran Communist Party member, active vice-president of the World Peace Council (WPC), and San Francisco publisher who preferred to use a more respectable "cover" in signing the White House letter, "president, National Black United Fund."

Hon. Richard Hatcher, Gary, Indiana.  
Edward A. Hawley, executive editor, *Africa Today*, a publication founded by the ACOA.

George M. Houser, ACOA.  
Rev. Jesse L. Jackson, Operation PUSH.  
Hon. Maynard Jackson, Atlanta.  
Edward Killackey, MM, Maryknoll Washington Office for Justice and Peace.  
Saul Landau, director, IPS Transnational Institute.

Edgar Lockwood, WOA.  
William Lucy, president, Coalition of Black Trade Unionists.

Barbara Lupo, co-director, Clergy and Laity Concerned (CALC).  
Hilda Mason, D.C. City Council.

Lloyd McBride, president, United Steelworkers of America.

Melvin A. McCaw, director, Washington Office, African American Institute (AAI).

Paul McCleary, associate secretary, Division on Overseas Ministries, National Council of Churches.

Sr. Janice McLaughlin, MM, associate, WOA.

Kathleen McTigue, South Africa Catalyst Project—West.

Patsy T. Mink, president, Americans for Democratic Action (ADA).

Charlene Mitchell, executive secretary, National Alliance against Racist and Political Repression (NARPR), and a member of the Communist Party, U.S.A. Central Committee.

Michael Moffitt, an IPS fellow listed on the White House letter as of the "Letelier-Moffitt Memorial Human Rights Fund."

L. Calvin Moore, legislative director, Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union (OCAW).

Prexy Nesbitt, IPS.  
Sr. Merle Nolde, co-director, National Assembly of Women Religious (NAWR).

Sr. Mary O'Keefe, co-director, NAWR.

Rev. Randolph Nugent, associate general secretary, National Division, Board of Global Ministries, United Methodist Church.

Fr. Robert C. S. Powell, director, Africa Office, National Council of Churches.

Ruby Rhoades, Washington representative, Church of the Brethren.

Lawrence M. Rich, Coalition for Responsible Investment.

Cleveland Robinson, secretary-treasurer, District 65, Distributive Workers of America.

Randall Robinson, TransAfrica.

Louis W. Schneider, executive secretary, American Friends Service Committee.

Karl Seidman, South Africa Catalyst Project—East.

Stanley K. Sheinbaum, a former member of Counter-Spy magazine's advisory board now a University of California regent.

Timothy Smith, director of the Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility, formerly with ACOA and other projects supporting southern Africa revolutionary terrorist groups.

John Stockwell, the CIA defector who "burned" pro-Western CIA agents in Angola and has worked with IPS's project to attract additional U.S. intelligence defectors, the Government Accountability Project (GAP).

Stephen Talbot, Africa editor, Internews.  
Ethel Taylor, national coordinator, Women Strike for Peace and a veteran World Peace Council activist.

Patrick F. Tobin, ILWU.

Peter Weiss, IPS chairman and vice-president of the Center for Constitutional Rights (CCR).

William Wipfler, director, Human Rights Office, Division on Overseas Ministries, National Council of Churches.

Amy-Young-Anaway, executive director, International Human Rights Law Group.●

# Glossary

**American Committee on Africa (ACOA)**—perhaps the most influential U.S. support group for Soviet-backed revolutionary and terrorist groups in Africa, the ACOA originated from meetings in London in 1951 between members of the Soviet-controlled ANC and U.S. black activist Bill Sutherland. Shortly after the London meetings, and with the agreement of Walter Sisulu, ANC's secretary-general and a member of the South African Communist Party, a forerunner of ACOA was formed called Americans for South African Resistance (ASAR). ASAR was headed by a white U.S. "peace activist," George Houser, who had been executive director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE).

Houser reorganized ASAR into the ACOA. Support activities for pro-Soviet revolutionary terrorist movements have continued with the beneficiaries of the ACOA including the Algerian FLN, Congolese Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba, the African Party for the Liberation of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC), Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO), Zimbabwe Patriotic Front and currently the Western Saharan Marxist POLISARIO which is based in Algeria and targeted against Morocco.

In the summer of 1981, Houser retired as ACOA executive director and was replaced by Jennifer Davis, a white South African "exile" who long has been ACOA's research director and has appeared as a witness before the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

American Friends Service Com-

mittee (AFSC)—formed by a group of socialist Quakers opposed to the draft in World War I, the AFSC has been penetrated and used by Communists since the early 1920s when it sent Jessica Smith to the Soviet Union to determine famine relief needs in Russia which was suffering from the effects of forced collectivization of farms and the effects of civil war.

In its literature, the AFSC has publicly and consciously chosen to support revolutionary terrorist groups and has tried to justify revolutionary armed struggle and terrorism on the grounds that no matter how violent the revolutionary process, the future socialist utopia would end the "violence of the status quo."

As a result of AFSC support for the Vietcong, the Philadelphia Meeting of the Society of Friends withdrew its financial support from the AFSC. In Africa, AFSC's programs of support for the ANC and SWAPO are coordinated by a black American, Bill Sutherland, 63, from Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania, the key figure in the founding of the American Committee on Africa after meetings with ANC members in London in 1951.

**African National Congress (ANC)**—formed in 1912 in South Africa, ANC did not fall under Communist control until 1947, when younger South African Communist Party cadre who had been assigned to penetrate ANC took power. The newly appointed black SACP secretary-general, Moses Mabhida, is a member of the ANC National Executive, as are many other SACP members including Joe Slovo.

Under the SACP's direction, in

1961 ANC commenced to set up a special terrorist section, *Umkonto we Sizwe* [Spear of the Nation] which was led by lawyer Nelson Mandela. ANC terrorists have received their training in the USSR, Cuba, Tanzania and Algeria.

**Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU)**—an organization in which CPUSA veterans and militants continue to play leading roles, among them Charles Hayes, International Vice President, United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) and an activist in the CPUSA's trade union front, Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy (TUAD).

**International Association of Democratic Lawyers (IADL)**—described in a CIA Report on Soviet Propaganda Operations prepared at the request of the House Intelligence Committee and published by the committee in 1978, as "one of the most useful Communist front organizations at the service of the Soviet Communist Party." The report noted that at its 1975 conference in Algiers, "the real and ideological interests of the IADL were covered by the agenda.. which considered law to be a function in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism and apartheid. Under the banner of anti-imperialism, the IADL's thrust...was to do battle with the large international companies as a way to gain adherents and backing in the developing world."

The IADL has a Western Hemisphere regional subsidiary, the Association of American Jurists (AAJ), headquartered in Havana. The NCBL and National Lawyers Guild (NLG) are affiliated with both the IADL and AAJ.

**Institute for Policy Studies (IPS)**—a Washington-based revolutionary think-tank that has consistently supported policies that facilitate the foreign policy goals of the Sov-

iet Union and weaken the position of the United States. This has been true whether the issue is disarmament (for the West), abolition of nuclear power (for the West), opposition to the activities of foreign and domestic intelligence agencies (for the West) or support for Soviet-backed revolutionary terrorist groups in Asia, Africa, Latin America, Western Europe and the Middle East. To put its policy recommendations into action, IPS has built networks of contacts among Congressional legislators and their staffs, academics, government officials and the media.

IPS has been described as the "perfect intellectual front for Soviet activities which would be resisted if they were to originate openly from the KGB."

Regarding southern Africa, IPS's international subsidiary, the Trans-national Institute (TNI) used tax-exempt money to pay the salary of Basker Vashee as a "fellow" when Vashee's main function was to serve as the chief European liaison and contact for the pro-Soviet Rhodesian terrorist organization, the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), a member of the "Patriotic Front."

Members of IPS's South Africa research project have taken leading roles in developing economic and political information concerning U.S. and other Western companies doing business in South Africa, Namibia and Rhodesia/Zimbabwe. IPS has been especially concerned with South African arms supplies. The director of its arms sales research, Michael Klare, is a veteran of the North American Congress on Latin America, a Castroite research group that has aided CIA turncoat Philip Agee, and former staffer of the Center for National Security Studies, an IPS off-shoot which took a leading role in exposing covert CIA aid to UNITA and FNLA forces in Angola early in 1976. Klare has made frequent trips to Havana to "lecture" on U.S. arms policies

to "graduate students" at the University of Havana.

**National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression (NAARPR)**—a CPUSA front organization formed in 1973, led by CPUSA Central Committee members Charlene Mitchell and Angela Davis. The NAARPR is active in supporting the "prison movement" efforts to organize and radicalize violent convicted prisoners. It should be noted that a number of revolutionary convicts have become leaders of terrorist groups including the Symbionese Liberation Army and its predecessor, the Venceremos Organization (VO), the George Jackson Brigade in Seattle, Washington; and the Black Liberation Army, a splinter from the Black Panther Party.

NAARPR's Communist leaders also have been active in supporting "political prisoner" status for criminals, and in agitating in riot situations.

**National Anti-Imperialist Movement in Solidarity with African Liberation (NAIMSL)**—a CPUSA front organization formed in 1973 to support Soviet-backed revolutionary terrorist movements in Africa.

**National Conference of Black Lawyers (NCBL)**—a U.S. affiliate of the Soviet-front International Association of Democratic Lawyers (IADL). Although the NCBL has merely an estimated 500 members as compared with the 6,000 in the predominantly white National Lawyers Guild, the NCBL is often used ahead of the NLG in "solidarity work" with Third World revolutionaries on account of racial considerations.

**National Lawyers Guild (NLG)**—the largest U.S. affiliate of the IADL, organized with the assistance of the Comintern in 1936 as a Communist legal action front. The NLG

remains the principal legal bulwark of the CPUSA, its fronts and controlled unions. While there are small numbers of Maoists, Trotskyites and independent Marxist "New Leftists" in the organization, the NLG's international positions and real domestic control lies with the supporters of the Soviet and Cuban Communist regimes.

NLG "solidarity work" on behalf of ANC and SWAPO includes support for terrorist "political prisoners," propaganda work, legal defense and other activities.

**Operation PUSH**—the Chicago-based group headed by Rev. Jesse Jackson, a former leader of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Operation PUSH's "international relations" director, Jack O'Dell, alias Hunter Pitts O'Dell, still an editor of the CPUSA's *Freedomways* magazine, was identified in Congressional testimony as the CPUSA's top southern organizer in the late 1950s. In the early 1960s, O'Dell's high-level position as an aide to Rev. Martin L. King in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference caused a national controversy.

With O'Dell as Jackson's international adviser, Operation PUSH has become involved with pro-Palestine Liberation Organization activities as well as backing for ANC and SWAPO.

**Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP)**—a Castroite Communist group whose goal is making Puerto Rico the next Marxist-Leninist state in the Americas. The PSP has maintained an office which it terms a "mission," in Havana since Fidel Castro took power. The PSP and its programs are supported by the World Peace Council, and by the Soviet bloc in the United Nations Decolonization Committee.

The PSP has a long record of involvement with revolutionary violence and terrorism, and its ac-

tivities serve as the umbrella under which the FALN and other Puerto Rican Castroite terrorist groups operate. PSP support for ANC and SWAPO should be seen in the light of Marxist-Leninist "proletarian internationalism" which translates as "each revolutionary Marxist and terrorist group in one country supports all the revolutionary Marxist and terrorist groups in all other countries."

**South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU)**—a labor organization totally controlled by the South African Communist Party which serves as a recruiting front for the South African Communist Party and African National Congress.

The new SACP general secretary, Moses Mabhida, is a member of the National Executives of both the ANC and SACTU, and in 1963 had been a functionary at the headquarters of the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU), the Soviet-controlled trade union front, in Prague, Czechoslovakia.

**South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO)**—a Soviet-backed terrorist organization formed in the late 1950s by Sam Nujoma. Based in the Ovimbondo people who live in the northernmost part of Namibia near the Angolan border, SWAPO's early pan-Africanist ideology has been replaced by Marxism-Leninism, the result of long Soviet support. The greatest estimates of SWAPO strength are 5,000 terrorists, based in Angola.

**Southern Africa Magazine**—a publication that publicizes and supports African terrorist movements which the Justice Department attempted to require to register as a foreign agent for one of the pro-Soviet African governments several years ago.

The publishing collective was defended by NLG attorney Peter Weiss, president of the board of

trustees of the Institute for Policy Studies. Among the members of the Southern Africa collective are ACOA's Jennifer Davis, and WOA's Christine Root and Edgar "Ted" Lockwood, and Tim Smith, Interfaith Center for Corporate Responsibility.

**U.S. Peace Council (USPC)**—the U.S. affiliate of the Soviet-controlled World Peace Council. USPC leaders include such CPUSA veterans as Abe Feinglass, a member of the WPC presidential committee; and Michael Myerson, a long-time functionary of the New York State Communist Party.

**Washington Office on Africa (WOA)**—the lobbying arm founded by the ACOA that has consistently supported U.S. policies favorable to African revolutionary and terrorist groups. WOA's founders, Edgar "Ted" Lockwood and Christine Root, both members of the *Southern Africa* magazine collective, remain leading organizers of ANC and SWAPO support. In 1981, a former intern and staffer, Jean Sindab, was named WOA director.

**Women for Racial [and Economic] Equality (WREE)**—a CPUSA front which is the U.S. affiliate of the Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF), another of the international Soviet fronts.

**World Peace Council (WPC)**—the major Soviet-controlled international Communist front organization headquartered in Helsinki, Finland. Operating under the joint control of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPUSU) and the KGB, the WPC has two main functions: to influence public opinion and governmental policies in non-Communist countries along lines favorable to Soviet policy goals, and to provide logistical support to Soviet-supported terrorist groups.

The WPC has been campaigning in support of the ANC and SWAPO for many years, and both ANC and SWAPO leaders are members of the WPC Presidium. The primary

WPC tactic is to support and help coordinate economic warfare efforts against South Africa and Namibia.

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